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THE BAZAINE COURT-MARTIAL.

THE long trial of BAZAINE has ended, and a Marshal of France has been condemned, by the unanimous voices of seven judges, to death, military degradation, and expulsion from the Legion of Honour. It is a terrible sentence, but no one has a right to say that it is not a just one. The names of the other judges are unknown in England, but the name of the Duke of AUMALE is a sufficient guarantee that the Court over which he presided would regard equally what was due to the accused and what was due to France. The sentence of death will not be carried out; but as it is the sentence prescribed by the military code, the Court, holding him guilty, had no choice but to pronounce it, and leave it to the PRESIDENT to commute it as he might think proper. Immediately after the sentence had been pronounced, the Duke of AUMALE proceeded to lay before Marshal MACMAHON the unanimous recommendation to mercy which the Court had adopted. BAZAINE's life will be spared; but he is a disgraced man, left to wear out the remainder of his life in the long sufferings of humiliation and forfeited character. The finding of the Court was, however, put in a technical form which affords little clue to the real degree and nature of the guilt imputed to him. There could of course be no doubt that BAZAINE capitulated in the open field, that this capitulation had the effect of making those under his command lay down their arms, and that he surrendered a fortified place entrusted to his care. That he had done all these things was incontestable, and the real question was, whether he had done them under the pressure of a necessity so overwhelming, and after such efforts to avert the catastrophe, that he was morally justified in capitulating. The Court must be understood to have pronounced that he was not so justified, that he did not do the best he could reasonably be expected to do with his magnificent army, and that he did not yield to the pressure of a necessity that was overwhelming. On what portions of the evidence brought before it the Court arrived at this decision it is impossible to know. On many of the most important heads of accusation the evidence seemed to foreign readers vague, conflicting, and insufficient, and the summary or version of the evidence given by the Government Prosecutor seemed distorted, bombastic, and unfair. But the Court heard the witnesses, could judge of their demeanour, and estimate their wish and power to tell the truth. It must therefore be assumed that the evidence adduced warranted the conclusion that the capitulation of BAZAINE was not justifiable. But what we do not know and cannot know is the precise ground on which this conclusion was based; and it makes an immense difference in the judgment which ought to be passed in fairness on BAZAINE's conduct according as this ground was one thing or another. Every one knows that BAZAINE was not a general of a high order, and few would doubt that, if MOLTKE had been inside Metz and BAZAINE outside, MOLTKE and his Germans would never have been kept inside the lines of the beleaguering French. BAZAINE ought never to have had the chief command of the Army of the Rhine, but a large portion of the blame for the consequences of his incapacity ought to be imputed to the system of government which had made such an appointment almost indispensable. What is to be remarked in his favour is that all the generals under his command, including CANROBERT and CHANGARNIER, approved of his military conduct, and thought that what he did was right. It may even be true, as his Royal friends in Germany assert, that among the commanders opposed to them he was the best of a bad lot. If what the Court meant was that he did not

know how to do the best that could be done, that he made an insufficient defence, that he behaved in short as a second-rate puzzle-headed man might not unnaturally behave in circumstances of extreme difficulty, they were technically right in finding him guilty, for France is entitled to expect that her Commander-in-Chief shall do more than this. But in that case the guilt of BAZAINE is not really very great. This, however, is only one way of putting what happened. The prosecution gave a very different colour to BAZAINE's conduct. They accused him of not behaving honestly to those under his command, of concealing despatches from them, of hiding from them the negotiations which were the real cause of the capitulation, of doing little, not because he was incapable of doing more, but because to do little suited his schemes. If this was the ground on which the Court held him guilty, and if this ground is taken as established, then BAZAINE's guilt is most serious. What is due to BAZAINE is to notice that the finding of the Court is as compatible with the theory that, being honest but incapable, he did less than his country might fairly call on him to do, as with the theory that his bad generalship was the fruit of insincerity and intrigue.

There is, however, another head of accusation on which BAZAINE has been found guilty besides those above mentioned. The Court has pronounced that he negotiated with the enemy before having done everything prescribed by duty and honour. But here again it may be doubted what it is that the Court means. BAZAINE did not negotiate with the enemy with regard to anything but the terms of capitulation. He countenanced negotiations through the EMPRESS with the enemy, but he always left the conduct of all negotiations, except as to the treatment his own army was to receive, to that which he considered to be the only lawful Government of France. The Court may have meant nothing more than that BAZAINE negotiated for a capitulation before the contemplation of a capitulation was justifiable; and this is only another way of saying that he capitulated too soon, that his defence was not that of a good general, and was shorter and less strenuous than France had a right to expect. This, from a military point of view, is a very severe condemnation. The very best that can be said for BAZAINE is that he has been found guilty by a competent tribunal of not having done his duty as a commander. But what the prosecution asserted was something very different. The construction put on BAZAINE's conduct by his adversaries was that he betrayed his country by trying to make an arrangement with the enemy under which they should get terms of peace satisfactory to them, and he should be at liberty to use his army to restore the Empire. This was the gist of the gravest charge against him, and it was this which, if proved, would have stamped him with the infamy of a traitor. It is possible that the Court may have thought that it was proved, but it is impossible to gather this from the finding. The words of the finding are, indeed, opposed to the supposition that this was the meaning of the Court. BAZAINE is found guilty, not of opening negotiations of a traitorous character, but of negotiating before duty or honour sanctioned such negotiations. The element of time is the important point in the terms of the finding on this head. He negotiated sooner than he should have done. Had the time of capitulation arrived, had he first done all that honour and duty prescribed, then he would not have come within the language of the condemnation; whereas at no time, nor whatever had been his previous conduct, could he have been justified in bargaining with the enemy that a foreign war should be terminated

and a civil war begun. He no doubt ignored the Government of September as far as he could, and treated the Government of the EMPRESS as the only one existing for him. Even his prosecutors, however, did not call this treason; but they said that he failed to do what the EMPRESS herself did, and would not honestly assist the Government which, whatever its origin, was in point of fact carrying on the war. Is this true? Did BAZAINE wilfully fail to communicate with the Government of Tours, seek to hide his position from them, and capitulate without taking the trouble to learn what effect his capitulation would have, at the particular date when it took place, on the fortunes of the Army of the Loire? There was some evidence to show that he did make efforts to let the Government of National Defence know what was going on at Metz, although those efforts were faint and tardy. The general impression left by the perusal of the evidence on this head is, we think, that he did not co-operate with the actual defenders of the country to such a degree and in such a manner as he ought to have done. But then this is merely an impression gathered from the evidence as reported. There is nothing to show that the Court came to the conclusion that this was the result of the evidence as given before it. He might have communicated with the Republican Government and been willing to help them; but if he was so incapable and timid a commander that he did not know how to prolong an effective resistance, he might have negotiated for a capitulation before he had done all that duty and honour proscribed.

The trial has been to a great extent justified by its result, if it needed any justification. There were many drawbacks to the gain of having the judgment of a Court pronounced on a Marshal of France, but the gain, if he was guilty, vastly outweighed the drawbacks. We must remember what BAZAINE did. This Metz army was the hope and pride of France. It retreated so late from the line of the Moselle that it was stopped on its way westwards by the Germans, who had got round it. After two severe fights it was turned back into Metz. There it stayed for two months without any effective attempt at a sortie, and hemmed in by a force little superior in numbers to itself. At last it capitulated, and men, arms, guns, flags, all the army, and all that the army cherished, were sent off to Germany; and it so happened that this capitulation, coming when it did, had peculiarly disastrous effects, crushed the Army of the Loire, and ruined the possibly hopeless, but certainly noble, effort which France was making to repair her defeats. Let us put the charge of treason aside, for the finding of the Court does not involve its truth, and the evidence, we think, does not substantiate it. We will suppose that BAZAINE had never been suspected of anything beyond that of which the Court has found him guilty—neglect of his duty as a general. Is it wise in a nation to pass over, through a mere wish to cover its own shame and to spare the feelings of those in a high position, neglect of duty on the part of a general to whom it had committed so great a trust? It is impossible to think so. France had a right to ask that a charge of neglect of duty under such circumstances should be accurately and patiently investigated, and, if established, should be followed by some striking and memorable punishment. The Government of M. THIERS and the present Government were bound to prosecute BAZAINE. Of course, if the Empire had been restored before this, the prosecution would have been dropped; but this is only saying that if the Imperialists had had the power they would have screened a friend. As to the army, it will gain greatly by feeling sure henceforth that it will be led by men who dare not neglect their duty; and commanders will gain by knowing that they must let considerations of no sort whatever interfere with their doing what duty prescribes. The counsel for the defence attempted to stigmatize the prosecution as a political one, and no doubt it is highly satisfactory to the Republican chiefs to have it established that, if they failed, their failure is to be largely ascribed to an Imperialist Marshal having neglected his duty. But it was France, not the Republican party, that was primarily interested in knowing why its arduous efforts to retrieve the defeat of Sedan failed, and in bringing any one on whom a large portion of the blame of this failure could be justly laid to such punishment as he might deserve. We may pity BAZAINE, as we pity a man placed unhappily in a position far above his merits and capacity. But those who accept serious responsibility must take the consequences if they fail to do that which they are responsible for doing;

and all that BAZAINE was entitled to ask was what he obtained—the investigation of his conduct by a perfectly fair tribunal, under the guidance of a President equal to the difficult task of conducting such an investigation satisfactorily.

MR. HARCOURT AT OXFORD.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL's speech at Oxford was by many degrees more interesting than the ordinary addresses by members of Parliament which occupy the dreariest columns in the daily newspapers. It is satisfactory to find that there are still Parliamentary speakers who are not ashamed to study epigrammatic terseness, to express elevated sentiments in polished and sonorous sentences, and to abstain from sophistical cant, not only on account of its unsoundness, but because it is commonplace and vulgar. Successful cultivation of the art of oratory is not the highest accomplishment of a statesman, but it is a proof of natural capacity, of well-applied industry, and of the taste which is as much a moral as an intellectual quality. Mr. HARCOURT properly repaid the considerate moderation of the Conservative portion of his constituents by disclaiming any intention of making a party speech. They had every reason to be satisfied with the moderation of his language; and it may be doubted whether they are disposed to quarrel with the substance of his opinions. On all material questions the SOLICITOR-GENERAL is utterly opposed to the projects of the extreme or revolutionary Liberals. He denounces with just indignation "the wild, loose, "and impracticable stuff" which is uttered about the law of land; and he announces, not for the first time, that he will never be a party to the disestablishment of the Church of England. As one of the few remaining depositaries of the orthodox Whig tradition, he still repeats the profession of belief in those principles of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform" which were proclaimed on a thousand platforms at the time of the first Reform Bill. It is true that none of the three phrases represents a principle; for the expediency or possibility of peace must depend on circumstances; retrenchment is only justifiable where expenditure has been excessive; and reform, which has casually become associated with changes in the representative system, would imply a perpetual desire of change, even if the franchise and the distribution of electoral power were absolutely perfect. At present there is happily no question of war, except in a barbarous country; Mr. HARCOURT's colleagues and chiefs dissent from his belief of the possibility of reducing the army and navy; and he himself all but directly protests against the mischievous scheme of reform which seems to be contemplated by the Government. It is, in Mr. HARCOURT's judgment, "not the moment to embark in any great scheme for the redistribution of electoral power." If Mr. GLADSTONE raises the question for the purposes of the general election, he may of course count on the vote of his SOLICITOR-GENERAL, who nevertheless shares the repugnance to a wanton experiment which is felt by all moderate members of the Liberal party.

Mr. HARCOURT's reference to his own experience of life in an English parsonage was rather rhetorically suitable than strictly argumentative; yet a practical knowledge of the working of the Established Church in rural districts would correct the hasty judgments of many flippant theorists. The moral and the material uses of an Establishment, independently of the strictly theological functions of the clergy, are closely connected with the peculiarities which excite the envy and dislike of Nonconformist ministers. The social jealousy which, as Mr. MIALL admitted, stimulates the agitation would scarcely justify subversive legislation. On the narrower issue of the Education Act Mr. HARCOURT agrees with the Birmingham League, though on the expediency of combining religious teaching with elementary education he differs from the Secularists and Dissenters. In his opinion Denominational education is likely to be insufficient; and he remarked that, if the late ATTORNEY-GENERAL was at liberty to differ from Mr. BRIGHT, the present SOLICITOR-GENERAL might say that he agreed with him. To agree with Mr. BRIGHT is to differ from Mr. FORSTER, who on this question has the advantage not only of representing the Government, but of vindicating a policy which is at least definite and intelligible. Mr. BRIGHT, in his speech at Birmingham, repudiated all responsibility for the acts or intentions of his colleagues. An unfriendly critic might have suggested that the profession of doctrines which were not to be

applied in practice was a cheap method of cultivating popularity; but, if Mr. BRIGHT is content to make extreme Radical speeches and to concur in moderate legislative proposals, his own section of the Liberal party have a better right to complain than their more prudent allies. Mr. FORSTER, unlike Mr. BRIGHT and Mr. HARCOURT, had not to make an election speech, but to provide for national education; and he has, while opponents and captious supporters were talking, accomplished a great part of his task. He may perhaps agree with Mr. HARCOURT that a system of schools supported by rates would be preferable to the present arrangement; but, if he had thrown over all the voluntary schools which he found in existence, he would have perpetrated an unjustifiable waste of available resources, and he would not have carried his Bill. Mr. HARCOURT is fully justified in regretting the consequences which one party attributes to the defects of the Education Act and the other to the sectarian agitation of the Birmingham League. The classification of School Board candidates and members according to their religious tenets or predilections is a new and uncomfortable symptom of political disorganization. Even at the last municipal election, the names of town councillors were unfortunately described in the newspapers as respectively Churchmen, Nonconformists, or Secularists. Constitutional government will be seriously endangered when the divisions of political parties habitually coincide either with social or with religious distinctions.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL will necessarily suspend during his term of office the efforts to promote retrenchment in which he has hitherto but imperfectly succeeded. As he reminded his constituents, he moved in the last Session for a Committee on Public Expenditure, and he obtained a Committee of which the object was to help the Government in reducing the emoluments of some branches of the Civil Service. In the *New Whig Guide* a notorious politician of the day confesses that he had asked for the place of Secretary of State, and that he had accepted the appointment of Clerk of the Kitchen. Mr. HARCOURT's success scarcely bore a larger proportion to his original aspirations. He had made public in various forms his arguments, which were intended to prove that the nation might safely reduce its naval force, and almost dispense with a standing army. The Ministers prudently declined to enter on an inquiry of the proposed novelty and magnitude; and the opportunity of carping at a few items of the Civil Service expenditure probably furnished but a poor compensation for the disappointment. With much political knowledge, and with ability to supply any deficiencies which may yet remain, Mr. HARCOURT is still but insufficiently acquainted with finance. His confidence in Mr. GLADSTONE's financial skill is well founded; but there is no reason to suppose that it is possible to substitute for the Income-tax any more equitable source of revenue. His criticisms on the "busybody" character of much recent legislation were more just in themselves than complimentary to his colleagues and official superiors. There can be no doubt that the Parliamentary triumphs of the first two Sessions after the general election persuaded some members of the Cabinet that the condition of popularity and power was the production of an interminable series of sweeping measures. One of their members plainly stated that when the Liberal party had exhausted its list of measures, it must look for something more to do for the mere purpose of justifying its existence. Mr. BRUCE's first Beer Bill, with all its unequalled absurdities, was rashly introduced at a time when it could not have been passed even if it had been universally approved; and on the same evening Mr. GOSCHEN introduced a Rating Bill which was offensive and alarming to large classes, although he knew that it could not even be discussed during the current Session. The impression was until lately widely spread, both among friends and opponents, that the Government would neither resolutely defend any existing institution nor allow anything to be let alone. On one point they are now apparently prepared to make a stand, having learnt experience from many contested elections. Mr. HARCOURT is, as the publicans of Oxford know, thoroughly sound on the question of beer; and he refers with satisfaction to Mr. LOWE's recent expression of a similar opinion. If incumbents, or College Fellows, or even landowners, were as powerful and as united as the public-house keepers, they also might perhaps enjoy a respite from hostile agitation. Mr. GOSCHEN's threat of a compulsory sale of lands held in mortmain will not be forgotten by the objects of his

gratuitous menace. Two months hence it will be known whether any new sacrifice is to be offered to the inordinate activity which excites the admiration of Mr. GLADSTONE's devotees. Notwithstanding the necessities of the general election, the Government will be well advised in profiting by the advice of the SOLICITOR-GENERAL; but the weight of his authority will perhaps be impaired by his unconcealed indifference to continuance in office.

SPAIN.

OF the many dangers and embarrassments which have lately beset the Spanish Government, the most imminent and formidable will probably be averted. It is not known whether there was any foundation for the rumour that the Captain-General of CUBA had at one time tendered his resignation on account of the alleged impossibility of surrendering the *Virginus* without causing serious disturbance. It now appears that even the dominant party in Cuba has become sensible of the folly of rendering American intervention inevitable. The *Virginus* has probably by this time been surrendered; and possibly the other demands of the PRESIDENT may be ultimately conceded. Some American jurists, as well as the majority of English writers on the question, justify the capture of the *Virginus* by the *Tornado* on the ground that the vessel had no right to the protection of the American flag. In 1856, when a part of the English squadron was transferred from the West Coast of Africa to the Mexican Gulf, the Government of the United States announced that no English vessel would be allowed on any pretext to search a vessel bearing the American flag; but in the confidential instructions to the American cruisers, their commanding officers were informed that protection was only to be given to ships which were *bonâ fide* entitled to use the flag. In other words, a foreign man of war might, at the risk of committing an act of war in the event of a mistake, detain a trader under the American flag if it were certain that the flag was fraudulently assumed. It is now argued that the policy of the United States was in 1856 controlled by slaveholders; but the Senate unanimously supported the PRESIDENT, and Mr. SUMNER, the leader of the Abolitionists, took, as might be expected, a prominent part in measures which were supposed to be offensive to England. As the English Government practically acquiesced in the rule as laid down by the Government of the United States, it may be regarded as a settled principle of law that an alien vessel cannot protect itself by the unauthorized use of a national flag. In the present instance it seems uncertain whether the *Virginus* belonged to the insurgents of Cuba, or whether they had merely chartered an American vessel for the conveyance of troops and stores. The local authorities and the American Vice-Consul at Kingston had given the vessel a clearance on the exhibition of American papers; and there is at present no proof that they were guilty of any irregular proceeding. The PRESIDENT of the United States might perhaps have been less peremptory in his demands if he had not been justly irritated by the brutal murder of a part of the crew and passengers. It was not unreasonable that everything should be presumed against the officials at Santiago.

It is satisfactory to find that the Spanish Government has thus far not suffered from its prudent acquiescence in the just claims of the United States. There is no account of disturbance or of extraordinary disaffection in Madrid; and the collapse of the threatened agitation in Cuba will probably satisfy the most turbulent patriots at home of the impossibility of resistance. Nevertheless the most difficult part of the task imposed on Señor CASTELAR has yet to be discharged. It will be difficult to ensure the punishment of the functionaries who took part in the judicial massacre, especially as General BURRIEL, the principal offender, has returned to his post as Governor of Santiago. His criminality is rendered even more certain and more odious by the details which have been lately published. The American and English Vice-Consuls before the execution applied for an audience to the Governor, who both declined their request, and prevented them from sending during the day telegraphic messages to Havannah. On the following day, when the unhappy prisoners had already been put to death, General BURRIEL tauntingly informed the American Vice-Consul that he had been prevented from attending to business on the

previous day, because it was a religious festival, and "he was occupied in meditating on the divine mysteries." It will be difficult to reconcile the dominant faction in Cuba to the condign punishment of leaders who undoubtedly complied with the popular wish when they put the prisoners to death. On the other hand, neither the American nor the English Government can submit to the impunity of the principal wrongdoer. It may be taken for granted that Señor CASTELAR regards the conduct of the Colonial functionaries with serious reprobation, but he may perhaps be powerless to inflict on them the punishment they deserve, although his firmness has induced them to acquiesce in the surrender of the *Virginius*. The pretended desire of the Americans for war is happily altogether imaginary; and, whatever may be the ultimate result, there is no present risk of a rupture.

The Carthagena insurgents will probably be disappointed in the hope that the misunderstanding between Spain and the United States would effect a diversion in their favour; yet the most unaccountable of rebellions maintains itself with unexpected vigour. The attack on the place began many days ago; and English officers at the headquarters of the besieging army thought that the demeanour of the troops and the practice of the artillery were highly creditable. A part of the town has been destroyed by the bombardment; but it is not known that any of the forts have been destroyed or silenced. The Spanish fleet has during the attack been for the most part absent, and there is a rumour that the Admiral is afraid that the crews would mutiny if he were to take an active part in the siege. The rebel squadron shows no disposition to engage an enemy who certainly offers little provocation; but one vessel, commanded by an English adventurer, has made several captures of Spanish merchant vessels, and has procured considerable supplies of provisions. The defenders of Carthagena are indebted to the humanity and gallantry of an Italian naval officer for the removal of a large number of women and children; and it is said that the leaders have since the beginning of the bombardment maintained comparative union among themselves. One of the oddest events of the strange civil war is recorded without any expression of surprise, probably because the capacity for astonishment has been exhausted in the course of the struggle. The general commanding the besieging force has in the middle of the attack returned with his staff to Madrid, and he has already had two successors. It is possible that General CEBALLOS may have been recalled in consequence of his failure to reduce the insurgent town, but a change in the command of an army during a decisive operation can seldom be expedient. If General CEBALLOS has voluntarily resigned his command because he may have been dissatisfied with the Government, his conduct would in any country except Spain expose him to severe censure and punishment. Among many difficulties, the worst of the Spanish Minister's embarrassments must be the impossibility of finding a general or an admiral whom he can trust.

No fitter illustration of the blessings of Spanish Republicanism could be given than the plausible conjecture that the obstinate resistance of the insurgents is encouraged by a hope of priestly support. The period appointed for the dictatorship of CASTELAR has nearly expired; and the Cortes, whose presence at Madrid made government impossible, will, according to the terms of the prorogation, reassemble in January. It is thought possible that the extreme majority may, with the aid of the anarchical rabble of Madrid, effect a revolution, or a change of Ministry, which would serve the purpose of the Federalists almost as well. If their friends were even temporarily in office, CONTRERAS and ROQUE BARCIA would at once cease to be rebels, while their adversaries would perhaps as suddenly find themselves denounced as traitors. The episode of a rebellion, or, as in this case, of a civil war, has frequently occurred in the career of Spanish Ministers and patriots; nor is there reason to suppose that the proceedings of the Carthagena insurgents are regarded by any class of politicians with extraordinary moral indignation. It is possible that Señor CASTELAR may become unpopular in consequence of his prudent assent to the demands of the United States; but it is scarcely to be supposed that he will allow the Cortes to meet, except perhaps for the purpose of a further adjournment. All the circumstances which justified his claim of dictatorial power exist in undiminished force. The Carlist civil war is still smouldering in the North, where

LIZARRAGA is still blockading Tolosa. It is impossible to conjecture whether a month hence Carthagena may still maintain its independence. Moderate and patriotic Spaniards would support the Minister in a refusal to transfer supreme power at a perilous juncture to an incapable Assembly which has little pretence to represent the nation. The eloquent speeches which did much to reduce the country to its present chaotic condition will be condoned if CASTELAR continues to prefer the discharge of indispensable duties to a selfish affectation of consistency. It may be true that the rebels of Carthagena are the genuine Federal Republicans; but their failure to procure allies or imitators in other provinces proves that Federation in Spain was only a mischievous rhetorical flourish.

THE EXETER ELECTION.

THE Exeter election took place on Tuesday, and ended in the defeat of Sir EDWARD WATKIN by a very considerable majority. The result is not very surprising, and the Liberals of Exeter may congratulate themselves on having kept the party so well together that over two thousand voters polled for Sir EDWARD WATKIN. He was a candidate good enough to suit those who were determined to get a Liberal in if they could, but not good enough to turn a single waverer. There is nothing very captivating in the thought of returning to Parliament a man who is already Chairman of three Railway Companies, whose time must be almost entirely absorbed, and whose interests on all railway matters must be opposed to those of the public. It is true that Sir EDWARD WATKIN made a good candidate in one way. He did his utmost to be popular, and in speaking he obtained an easy victory over a weak antagonist. But his Liberalism, attractive to those who by Liberalism simply mean letting every one do every foolish thing he thinks proper, was enough to terrify any one who might be inclined to look for thought, reflection, or political principle in his representative. Mr. MILLS, on the contrary, had faults which were mainly negative. He could not speak; he could not sketch out any Conservative policy on any subject; he seemed to belong to that section of his party which not only looks to be educated by its leaders, but humbly asks that its education shall begin with the alphabet. Conservatives, however, do not much mind this. They want a member not to be so very clever, but to be a good Conservative—that is, to be a man holding an ascertained position, likely to make himself locally useful, and pronounced satisfactory by competent clerical authorities. A weak gentleman is after all a gentleman, and, if he has no particular opinions on the details of politics, he is certain to rally round the Altar and the Throne and vote as he is bid. It was, too, in Mr. MILLS's favour that he contested Exeter at the last election, and was only defeated by a small majority, for, no doubt, there is some sympathy with a candidate who is so attached to a borough that he will stand for it time after time. Personal liking, too, goes a considerable way in elections when there is no great political excitement, and Mr. MILLS has in abundance the qualities which make men glad to do a friend a good turn at no great cost to themselves. A better candidate than Sir EDWARD WATKIN might possibly have polled more votes than he did; and it does not follow that because Mr. MILLS has been returned that a really good Liberal candidate may not succeed against him at the next general election. Still, under the present circumstances, Mr. MILLS's return was very natural, and does not need to be accounted for by the use of reprehensible means. That bribery and corruption had been employed, not of course by Mr. MILLS himself, but by his agent, was loudly asserted by some disappointed Liberals when the result of the poll became known. Even Sir EDWARD WATKIN is reported to have used language which implied that unfair means had been used against him. A defeated candidate ought to be very scrupulous in making such assertions; and if he makes them, he ought to be considered bound to prove them.

That the result disappointed some Exeter Liberals is certain, and there was heard, what under the Ballot we shall always hear, the statement that, if promises had been kept, the election must have gone the other way. But it was scarcely for Exeter Liberals to complain of broken promises when their sitting representative, Mr. BOWRING, had explained to them only a few days before that under the admirable system of the Ballot, to make promises, break them, and keep the conscience clear had become the easiest

thing possible. We do not believe that a majority of over three hundred is to be attributed either to corrupt practices or broken promises. Mr. MILLS has been returned because the larger number of voters wished to see a Conservative successful, or preferred Mr. MILLS to Sir EDWARD WATKIN. It is as legitimate a Conservative triumph as can be conceived. It is part of their strength as a political party that a candidate weak in himself is good enough for them, provided he is a gentleman and can be trusted; whereas Liberals have from the nature of their politics a difficulty in finding good candidates, as the class of candidates who can be most easily found, that of amiable, mild-spoken gentlemen with no marked abilities or political creed, are comparatively useless to them. The election can have, however, no immediate political effect. The Government will meet Parliament next Session unaffected by having lost this particular seat. If all the elections that have taken place in the recess had been adverse to them, the case would have been very different. Although they would have had a considerable majority, and might have counted on that majority on a critical division, yet, if one constituency after another had shown disapproval of the Ministerial policy, the Cabinet would have felt weak and disheartened, and the existing House of Commons might have seen itself subjected to the reproach with which the French Assembly is taunted, that it does not represent the country. But as the Government has merely won here and lost there, and as there is no general current of opinion against them, and no one is prepared to take their places if they were turned out, they have as fair a chance of carrying their measures next Session as a Government can have with a House of Commons on the eve of dissolution. The Exeter election is said to be a warning; but of what is it a warning, and to whom? It is indeed a proof of what is clear enough if the Parliamentary history of recent years is considered. The election of 1868 did not reflect the permanent strength of the two parties in the English boroughs. The Liberals have probably a majority in them, as Mr. DISRAELI confesses, but they have not so large a majority as the returns of 1868 would lead us to suppose. The election in that year was held in a time of great excitement, and Mr. GLADSTONE and his colleagues had then the advantage of being out of office and looked upon—justly, we think—as men capable of considerable things if they had a chance; whereas the Conservatives had recently stultified their past political lives by becoming the authors of a sweeping Reform Bill. It thus happened that the Liberals had an accidental advantage which raised their successes in the English boroughs beyond what accorded with their permanent strength. It is curious, in looking through the records of the elections in 1868, to notice how very small the majorities were in many cases by which Liberals were then elected; and a small majority is easily reversed. There are many boroughs of which it may be said with considerable confidence that they will return a Liberal after a Conservative Ministry has been some time in office, and a Conservative after a Liberal Ministry has been some time in office, parties being so evenly balanced that the inevitable grumbler can make his influence felt. Exeter is perhaps one of these boroughs, and the day may come when the tenure of office by his friends may, in the turning of the wheel of fortune, cost Mr. MILLS his hard-won seat.

It may perhaps happen before long, although no distinct signs of such a thing happening appear at present, that accidental causes will give the Conservatives a share of the representation greater than their permanent strength in the constituencies warrants; and this will be needed if they are to have a Ministry that can take office with credit. We may go so far as to say that, although there are no distinct signs as yet of such a thing happening, it is not difficult to see how it might happen. Taking the country all through, Denominationalism is evidently stronger than Anti-Denominationalism, and beer is stronger than temperance. Each constituency may of course have its special leaning on the subjects of education and licensing, and therefore what is true of the country generally may not apply to any particular borough. Or, again, the subject of education may not be exclusively important in the estimation of a constituency, and a member may be returned on the general issues of Imperial policy, or because he is a specially fit man to be in Parliament. But there is always a probability that the general opinion of the country will be reflected in the opinion of any one constituency, and therefore the chances are that Denominationalism and beer will make their influence felt in the

boroughs. It seems to many Liberals very hard that it should be to the cost of the Liberals only that this influence is felt. They say, truly enough, that it is the Act of the present Government on Education that is considered to be too favourable to Denominationalism, and that the Licensing Bill was passed with the concurrence of the Conservative party. All this is true, but ardent Denominationalists and irritated publicans do not trouble themselves to do justice or to go into the history of the means by which Acts of Parliament have been passed. They ask themselves the very simple question whether CODLIN or SHORT is their friend, and the Conservative or the Liberal the more likely to stand by sects and public-houses; and a rude but sufficient common sense tells them that it is the Conservatives. They observe that those who are working in favour of Anti-Denominationalism and the Permissive Bill are, in nine cases out of ten, Liberals, and they prefer the party which is free from suspicion. We must own that, if judged from their own point of view, they seem to us quite right. It is a matter of great regret that constituencies will insist on ignoring all but one or two pet questions, and are so apt to put out of sight that there are other issues of greater moment which they practically help to determine by forgetting them. But we must take men as they are, and it is absurd to talk as if political power in England was exclusively in the hands of wise and enlightened men. Constituencies will attach too much importance to the little things that specially interest voters for the time being, whatever we may do or say. The disestablishment of the Irish Church was not one of these little things. It was a great question of Imperial policy on which the constituencies were asked to pass judgment. But it had the effect of giving the Liberals a majority accidentally large. To-day is a day of little, not great, questions; but these little things may suffice, although, as we have said before, there is no trustworthy evidence that they will suffice, to give the Conservatives an accidentally large share in the representation of English boroughs at the next general election.

THE FRENCH ELECTORAL LAW.

THE Duke of BROGLIE evidently intends to make the Committee of Thirty useful. A short time back it was supposed that they were to confine themselves to the construction of a Constitution, and that the process of reforming the constituencies by the excision of Republican electors would be undertaken by the Cabinet. It now appears that the Government intend to obtain all the support that can be given by the vote of a Committee before bringing this extremely awkward question before the Assembly. The Committee of Thirty is composed of five Liberals, six members of the Right, and nineteen of the Right Centre; and upon the propriety, or rather the necessity, of a Reform Bill, the two latter sections are agreed. Perhaps a further impetus may be given to their zeal by the result of to-morrow's elections. Four deputies are to be returned by three departments, and should the extreme South, the extreme West, and the almost metropolitan district of Seine and Oise agree in electing Republicans, the case in favour of reform may be taken as proved. There is a little inconsistency perhaps in bringing on this measure while the Bill for regulating the election of Mayors is still under consideration, since one of the reasons given for taking the nomination out of the hands of the Municipal Councils is that they elect men who refuse to help the Prefects in getting the right sort of candidates sent to the Assembly; and it might be plausibly argued that the Government had better wait and see what efficient Mayors can do for them before weeding the constituencies. But the Duke of BROGLIE no doubt knows that after all the most well disposed of Mayors cannot do the Government much service in this way. Their co-operation is not to be despised, because where you have to deal with an adverse population no means of enlightening or persuading them should be left untried. However carefully the Electoral Law may be drawn, it must leave many Republican voters on the register, and as some of these may be open to official pressure, there will be something for the Mayors to do, even if the voters could be made as few as they were in the golden days of LOUIS PHILIPPE.

With twenty-five out of thirty votes in the Committee secured beforehand, the Government will come before the Assembly with the prestige of an immense majority. There is danger in this, however, as well

as safety. After all, the support of a Committee is only valuable in so far as it represents support which will be forthcoming in the Assembly itself, and the way in which the Committee of Thirty has been constituted makes it quite worthless for this purpose. On the question of a new Electoral Law the Liberal Opposition may count upon securing more votes than upon almost any other, and, if so, parties are likely to be so equally divided as to make the issue of the debate uncertain. In such a case as this nothing injures the chances of a Bill more than over-confidence on the part of its promoters; but it is difficult not to be a little over-confident when the Bill has at its back the recommendation of five-sixths of a Committee. There has been no opportunity for rehearsing those narrow divisions in which the capture of a single vote may turn the scale. A minority of one-sixth is almost certain to stick closely together. There is no room for calculation or combination. The minority learns to take being outvoted as a thing of course, and consequently makes no effort to avoid it. If the Committee of Thirty had been constituted on the principle of reproducing, with some approach to accuracy, the division of parties in the Assembly, this danger would have been avoided. It would have been possible to forecast how this or that section of the Opposition would stand affected towards the Bill, and there would have been time to devise compromises and arrangements by which their support, or at least their abstention, might have been secured. As it is, the temper of parties in the Assembly can only be guessed at down to the time when the Bill comes on for discussion. The fact that it will be presented by a very large majority of the Committee of Thirty will be nothing in its favour, because the circumstances under which the Commission was chosen have been more than commonly notorious. Everybody will remember the determination of the Right and the Right Centre in the first instance to admit no more than three members of the Opposition to share in their deliberations, and even at last to admit no more than five; and, with that little incident in the background, the Assembly will not be greatly impressed, even if the Committee adopts the Bill by five-and-twenty votes out of thirty.

The introduction of a new Electoral Law is tantamount to a confession that all the ordinary means of influencing elections which French Governments have at their disposal are unavailing in presence of the resolute preference of the nation for Republican institutions. Probably if the constituencies had any faith in the professions of the Ministerial journals that the prolongation of Marshal MACMAHON's powers means the continuance of the Republic for seven years certain, the issue of some at least of the partial elections would be less unfavourable to the Government. The really Conservative elements in the nation appear to desire a Republic, but they would be content with, or rather they would certainly prefer, a Republic of an exceedingly moderate type. M. THIERS saw this, and was anxious to frame a Republican Constitution in concert with the Conservative majority in the Assembly. The Conservative majority refused to be used for such a purpose, and from that hour they have been set down by the constituencies as Monarchists at heart. If the Fusion had never been effected, this suspicion would possibly have died away; but an avowed attempt to set up a Monarchy, following upon a refusal to set up a Republic, naturally confirmed and strengthened it. What is to prevent the Duc DE BROGLIE from acquiescing in a Monarchical intrigue next year, as he undoubtedly acquiesced in one this year? If he was prevented from placing the Count of CHAMBOURD on the throne only by an inopportune letter from the Count himself, the appearance of a letter of a different kind may revive his conviction that Monarchy and order are ideas which do not admit of being permanently dissevered. Or suppose that the Count of CHAMBOURD were after all to abdicate, and that the Count of PARIS were to give, as he would give, all the guarantees that the Right Centre wish to obtain from their King, would not the Duke of BROGLIE hold that this change absolved him from the obligation to keep the Republic going for seven years? It would be rash to say that the answers which those who ask these questions usually give to them are the correct ones. It is enough that they are the answers which are accepted by the greater part of the French people. The more the attitude of the constituencies is studied, the more evident it becomes that the existing Government is distrusted, not so much because it is reactionary, as because it is suspected of being Monarchical. There never was a time when French elections had so good

a claim as they have at present to be accepted as giving the real mind of the French people. The fear of offending the Radicals which has sometimes influenced the electors is, to say the least, neutralized by the fear of offending the authorities, and the failure of the Government hitherto to carry a single election is assuredly not to be attributed to any unwillingness to turn the last fear to account. A Reform Bill the object of which is to deprive large numbers of electors of the suffrage is unmistakably designed as a punishment for the manner in which they have used it heretofore. It is quite possible that it may fail of its object, even if it becomes law, because its success is bound up with the theory that the Republican feeling is only found in the lower strata of the constituencies, and that if these can be banished from the electorate all will go well. If it should turn out that the Republican feeling is distributed vertically, and that the higher classes of electors are equally Republican with the lower, the result of a new Electoral Law may be to lessen the aggregate of voters at each election, not the proportion given to this or that candidate. And that such a law will be passed even by the existing Assembly is an assumption of considerable boldness.

HOUSEHOLD SUFFRAGE IN COUNTIES.

THE advocates of the extension of household suffrage to county constituencies are naturally encouraged by Mr. GLADSTONE's assent to receive a deputation on the subject from bodies which profess to represent the agricultural labourers. They are probably justified in the inference that the Government will bring in a Household Suffrage Bill in the next Session. The long period of two or perhaps three years has elapsed since Mr. GLADSTONE formally announced that the change, however desirable, would not be proposed by himself during the remainder of his political career. When he pledged himself to postpone a new disturbance of the electoral system, he did not think that he should live to make household suffrage in counties one of the principal issues of the next general election. If the conjecture of the enthusiastic journal which divides its affections between Mr. GLADSTONE and M. GAMBETTA is well founded, the suffrage is to be given to the labourers as to model school-boys, by way of reward for good behaviour. It seems, according to the *Spectator*, that the artisans were enfranchised in consequence of their good conduct during the cotton famine; and the labourers have earned a similar boon by their sagacious adoption of Mr. ARCH's advice to strike for a rise of wages. Of course their laudable regard for their own interest is described as a solemn exercise of virtue. The labourers have displayed, among other qualities, "a dumb pathetic earnestness," and it is high time that, no longer dumb, "they should be permitted to speak" out their moving, slow-tongued eloquence on the politics "of rural England." Innocent theories of this kind would not deserve serious discussion if they were not likely to influence Mr. GLADSTONE's singular temperament. In the present instance it is more reasonable to attribute his policy to a more commonplace and prosaic motive. His gratitude to the labourers perhaps relates rather to the future favours which they may confer by their votes on the Liberal party than to the dumb and pathetic eloquence with which they have demanded three or four additional shillings a week. Mr. TREVELYAN and other representatives of ultra-democracy frequently assert that they have never heard a plausible argument against the equalization of the franchise in town and country. It is perfectly true that, if symmetry is the test of sound political organization, the whole country ought to be at once carved out into equal electoral districts, with a perfectly uniform suffrage. It is perhaps becoming an anachronism to object that a principal object of constitutional arrangements is good government, including freedom of opinion, security for property and order, and protection of the rights of the minority. At this moment the working classes, if they thought fit to combine their forces against the rest of the community, would have it in their power to return to the House of Commons a majority of borough members, who might possibly not have received the votes of a single proprietor, tradesman, or member of the educated professions. It has been truly remarked that a low franchise in England is more really democratic than in any other civilized country. The majority of English householders live upon weekly wages, and own no realized property, except perhaps furniture, or money in the Savings Bank. English artisans receive larger incomes

than the members of the same class in any other part of Europe; but the elaborate and complicated organization of industry in this country assigns to workmen their share of the profits of production in the form of wages. They would probably be the first to suffer by revolutionary disturbance; but they are naturally indifferent to risks which seem to them immediately to affect the capitalist and the landowner. The vast majority of the borough constituency pays no direct taxes; and the inconvenience which might indirectly and ultimately arise to workmen through onerous and unjust taxation of property is not likely to be adequately appreciated.

Household suffrage in the counties means a large reinforcement of the most democratic element in the existing constituency. If the measure is passed, landlords and tenants may save themselves the useless trouble of attending the poll. The agricultural labourers have lately become the special favourites of revolutionary agitators, who justly recognize in Mr. ARCH, though his original objects were practical and economic, a valuable ally of the ODGERS and BRADLAUGHS. When the labourers have votes, they will be courted and absolutely governed by demagogues, who will teach them as a first lesson the expediency of combining against their oppressors who own or rent the land. Unscrupulous adventurers have wasted much eloquence in endeavouring to persuade the artisans of the towns that they are aggrieved by Game-laws with which they have nothing to do, and by the accumulation of landed estates, although they themselves could not occupy freehold farms if they were to be had for nothing. The labourer knows more about land, and the demagogue can consequently at any time offer him a tempting bribe. His protest against large estates and large farms would be more earnest, because it would be more selfish, than the vague clamour of dwellers in towns. Whatever may be thought of the proposed change, it is idle to treat it as insignificant. The Conservatives have already begun to tamper with the extension of the suffrage, because they fear that it will be carried, and hope by prudent conformity to conciliate the favour of the new electors. Some of the organs of moderate Liberalism have with culpable carelessness approved of the proposed equalization through unacquaintance with the condition of rural districts. Mr. DISRAELI's speech at Glasgow indicates a disposition to check his hasty followers in their servile imitation of his own former policy. As a professed patron of the working classes, and especially of the farm-labourers, who are the amiable peasants of his novels, Mr. DISRAELI carefully abstains from raising any direct objection to a measure which, as he has often and truly said, would increase the electoral power of the counties; but he calls attention to some of the collateral results which would follow a new scheme for the reconstruction of the representative system. The derangement of the balance of political power would absorb the attention of Parliament and of the country; and, until the question was settled, it would be difficult to proceed with other important measures. Mr. DISRAELI may not perhaps really regard with alarm an interruption of Mr. GLADSTONE's legislative restlessness; but an argument against any measure proves that the person who uses it is opposed to the project, although he may perhaps attach little weight to the reasons which he urges against it. Lord DERBY took his famous leap in the dark under Mr. DISRAELI's influence, but the consequences have not been so advantageous to the Conservative party as to recommend a repetition of the experiment.

It would be useless to approach Mr. GLADSTONE even with conclusive demonstrations that the equalization of the suffrage will not tend to the benefit of the country. The agricultural labourers are, as it is impossible to deny, his fellow-creatures and his flesh and blood; and the inference that his fellow-creatures and his flesh and blood ought to have votes for members of Parliament probably appears to him as unavoidable as it seems irrelevant to less inspired politicians. Some of the party, if not Mr. GLADSTONE himself, will be more inclined to listen to doubts whether the household suffrage in counties would be an advantageous question to dissolve upon. Mr. GOSCHEN and Mr. GLADSTONE himself promoted two or three years ago a Rating Bill, of which one object was apparently to sow dissension for political purposes between landlord and tenant. It is not improbable that for a similar reason, as well as for the public benefit, the Government may introduce a Bill in the next Session for some change in the law of tenancy, or perhaps for a modification of the Game-laws. The effect of any overtone of the kind will be lost upon the farmers

if the Government at the same time proposes to transfer the electoral control of the counties from themselves to the labourers, who have already under the tuition of Mr. ARCH caused them serious alarm. They know better than Mr. GLADSTONE how the demagogues, in whom the new voting power would be really vested, would use their opportunity. Mr. GLADSTONE's announcement of his intention to receive a deputation from the Labourers' Unions has probably by this time alienated from his party even the farmers who have hitherto counted themselves Liberals. Household suffrage in the counties will not become law before the dissolution; and at the next election the proposal will probably be unanimously reprobated by the existing county constituencies. Another large and important body will be almost equally averse to the proposal. It seems to be generally admitted that uniformity of franchise would involve the establishment of equal electoral districts; and even if the connexion between the two measures is not strictly logical, the consequence would ensue, because readjustment would be promoted by the party which had already prevailed in the extension of the suffrage. The institution of electoral districts means the disfranchisement of all the small and moderate-sized boroughs; and when the constituencies understand the danger with which they are threatened, they may perhaps not be inclined to contribute at their own cost to the success of the Government measure. Mr. DISRAELI adroitly reminded them of their approaching annihilation with a graceful reference to the political antagonism between himself and a majority of their present representatives. There is yet time for Tories who confound cunning rashness with sagacity to profit by the hints of their leader. If the Liberal Government thinks fit to build a wall against which it may knock its own head, the Conservatives are not called upon to share in the work and in the result. Even if the Constitution, or what remains of it, is not worthy of consideration, the interests of any party which may attempt to disfranchise the farmers and the small boroughs will be gravely compromised.

THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL.

ENGLISH Liberals are often disposed to deny the POPE a privilege to which events have certainly established his title. They quarrel with him because he finds in his present condition much matter for lamentation. Yet, if ever any man had the right to complain that he has fallen upon evil times, PIUS IX. has that right. He has been deprived of the temporal dominion to which he has persistently assigned an importance scarcely less than that belonging to his spiritual dominion. He has seen Rome, from being the home of the Papacy, become the capital of the chief rebel against the Papacy. He has contrived to quarrel with the German EMPEROR, the most Conservative, and consequently the most friendly to Catholicism, of the Protestant sovereigns of the Continent. If all these misfortunes coming upon him one after another are not enough to make him break silence, it must be on the theory that ecclesiastical persons are bound to show a Spartan power of endurance unknown to temporal sovereigns. The POPE's affairs are in a very bad way, and consequently it is perfectly natural that he should bewail the adverse fates which have brought him to so grievous a plight.

In the last Encyclical, however, the POPE says but little of his personal sufferings. It is the bitter griefs of his venerable brethren that now press upon him. It seems to have come upon the POPE by surprise that the same policy towards the secular authorities which in Italy has brought trouble upon his own head should in other countries have brought trouble upon the heads of the bishops immediately concerned in carrying it out. All that he says, for example, of the conduct of the Swiss Government may be true in fact; at all events we are not in the least concerned to defend either the banishment of the Bishop of HEBRON or the revolutionary ecclesiastical legislation by which that banishment has been followed. But the Encyclical makes no mention of the unprovoked act which served as the pretext, to say the least, for what has been done. M. MERMILLOD might to all appearance have been exercising his functions undisturbed to this day if the POPE had not, in violation of an agreement between the Swiss Government and the Holy See, made him in effect Bishop of Geneva. It may be that the Swiss authorities were wrong in the means they took to vindicate what they considered to be their rights; but even if we condemn them on this ground, it is an important element in the controversy that the POPE

struck the first blow, and struck it without provocation. As regards Germany the POPE has a better case. It is not exactly a good case, because no one except the persons immediately concerned knows the real facts of the quarrel, but it is, at all events, a plausible case. We agree with Archbishop MANNING that the recent ecclesiastical legislation in Prussia constitutes a direct attack upon the Church in its spiritual character. The answer of the *Times* that the German EMPEROR is only doing what HENRY VIII. did before him leaves out of sight several important considerations. In the first place, in England the King and the Parliament were legislating for a Church to which they themselves belonged, whereas the German EMPEROR and the Prussian Parliament are legislating for a Church of which they are not members. The TUDOR Reformation did so far answer to its name that it was effected by men who professed to be Catholics. The Prussian Reformation is being carried out by men who have no more right to remodel the Roman Catholic Church than Marshal MACMAHON and the Duke of BROGLIE would have to remodel the French Protestant Church. In the next place, the Prussian Reformation does not even claim to be a religious movement. There is probably quite as much religion about it as there was about the TUDOR Reformation, but the superior honesty of the German statesmen puts them in this respect at a disadvantage. They avow that they are making ecclesiastical changes to serve a purely political purpose, and though their frankness may be respectable, it brings the arbitrary character of their acts into very strong relief. In the third place, it is exceedingly doubtful whether, if the Roman Catholic Church were prepared to abandon her official position in Prussia, her demand for freedom would meet with any other reception than it meets with now. Prince BISMARCK, we suspect, would frankly reply to any offer of such abandonment that he had no intention of relaxing the hold which circumstances have given him over the Catholic clergy. If the resignation of the stipends hitherto paid them by the Government would release the bishops from the obligation to yield obedience to the new ecclesiastical laws, they would probably be glad to give them up.

It must be confessed, however, that there is a good deal of mystery about the causes which have induced the German Government to take up its present attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church. The POPE asserts that the clergy are absolute lambs in the matter, and that the charges of conspiracy which the Emperor of GERMANY brings against them are merely the inventions of a wolf who is resolved to devour them under one pretence or another. He has at all events this in his favour, that no evidence has ever been brought forward in support of the German accusations. If the Roman Catholic clergy had repeatedly been convicted of conspiracy against the new German Empire, there would at any rate be this excuse for violent legislation, that it was designed to anticipate a danger which it had been found impossible to guard against by the usual precautions. As it is, we are reduced to taking Prince BISMARCK's word—for on this point the EMPEROR can scarcely be regarded as more than the mouthpiece of the CHANCELLOR—that he has discovered a series of dangerous intrigues, not one of which has ever come to the surface or made itself apparent to other eyes than his. On the other hand, there is nothing in Prince BISMARCK's antecedents that makes it likely that he should suddenly come forward in the character of a Protestant crusader, and there is good reason to believe that not very long before the introduction of the new laws he made the POPE a distinct offer of alliance. Archbishop MANNING attributes the action of the Government to a compact with secret societies, and quotes a passage from a Masonic organ to the effect that the EMPEROR's letter to the POPE was dictated by the spirit of Freemasonry. It is natural enough that a newspaper which has in view the interests of Freemasonry should try to identify a series of popular measures with the views of the society it represents. But this fact only tends to derogate from the real importance of the Archbishop's extract. An alleged sympathy between the German EMPEROR and Freemasonry is rather a small foundation to support a whole system of policy opposed in many of its features to all that could have been expected either from the Sovereign or from his Minister. We put it to Archbishop MANNING whether it is not more probable that since the overthrow of Austria, and still more since the overthrow of France, the aggrandizement of Prussia has been an object of jealous dread, and, as a consequence, of underhand hostility,

to a clergy who have been trained to regard the restoration of the POPE's temporal power as the end to which all their labours should be directed.

The POPE's denunciation of the German ecclesiastical policy brings him by a natural process to a denunciation of Old Catholics. Upon this subject the POPE can only express himself in one way, nor have the persons against whom his curses are directed any right to complain of being made the objects of them. So long as the members of the Roman Catholic Church who reject the Vatican decree were willing to dispense with an ecclesiastical organization of their own, the POPE could affect to regard them as children who had not yet left their father's roof, however just might be the cause of displeasure they have given him. When they proceeded to set up a bishop for themselves, and to obtain consecration for him from the latest, and for that reason the most hateful, of European schisms, it was evident that the POPE would in future never open his mouth to them except for the purpose of excommunication. Rendered into commonplace English, the Papal abuse of "a certain notorious apostate" from the Catholic faith, JOSEPH HUBERT REINKENS," is simply an intimation that in future the Old and the New Catholics can have nothing to say to one another. Whether the former have been wise, from their own point of view, in pushing matters to this extremity, is a question which only the event can answer. The immediate prospects of the new community will perhaps be improved by the adoption of a decided course; but the chances of the breach being healed under some future Pope are certainly fewer than they were before Bishop REINKENS's election.

RAILWAY DIRECTORS AND THE BOARD OF TRADE.

WHEN Mr. LAING's letter to the PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE, in reply to the recent Circular of that department with regard to railway accidents, was published, it was thought that it was perhaps intended, not only as a vindication of the Brighton Railway, but as a general plea on behalf of all the Companies. If this had been the case, the Companies on whose lines the greatest number of disasters occur would certainly have been open to the taunt that they were endeavouring to shelter themselves behind a comparatively innocent and well-behaved line. It appears, however, that the Companies are not disposed to confide their case to a single spokesman, and that there is to be a separate and distinct reply from each of them. This is certainly necessary, because the case of the Brighton Railway is very different from that of some of the others. Mr. LAING's letter showed that the Brighton Railway is a well-managed and consequently safe line, but it did not in the least shake the arguments contained in Mr. CHICHESTER FORTESCUE's Circular; indeed it might almost be regarded as an emphatic confirmation by an experienced Railway Chairman of all that Mr. FORTESCUE had said. The object of the Circular was to point out that railway disasters might to a great extent be prevented by improved methods of working and mechanical contrivances. The object of Mr. LAING's letter was to show that accidents rarely occurred on his line; and he explained that the reason why they did not occur was because the Company had practically anticipated Mr. FORTESCUE's advice, and adopted most of the precautions against accidents which he recommended. If Mr. LAING had had to say that accidents occurred on his line notwithstanding the adoption of precautions, that would have been, in one way, an answer to the Board of Trade. But the whole drift of his argument is that, where precautions are taken, accidents are prevented. And this argument of course cuts two ways, because, if we find that accidents do not occur when precautions are taken, it may be not unreasonably presumed that, when accidents do occur, it is because precautions have been neglected. Mr. LAING's letter has been followed by one by Mr. CASTLEMAN, the Chairman of the London and South-Western, who writes to much the same effect. He pleads that there were only three accidents on his line last year, and none the year before, and he attributes this to the careful maintenance and working of the railway. The block system has been adopted on the South-Western, as well as on the Brighton Railway, and every effort is said to be made for providing adequate accommodation for traffic. Mr. LAING and Mr. CASTLEMAN both contend that continuous brakes cannot be adopted until further

experiments have been made on the subject, and that "absolute punctuality" in the departure and arrival of trains is an impossibility. On the first of these points the argument is a plausible one, but it is obvious that it might be used to justify the postponement of every kind of scientific improvement for an indefinite period. It is always possible that an invention may be improved, or that a better invention may be forthcoming; but common sense has to be content with the best that can be got at the time. It is highly probable that in a quarter of a century continuous brakes will be much nearer perfection than at present; yet even an imperfect brake of this kind would be a great advantage at the present moment. As to the impossibility of ensuring absolute punctuality, nobody expects it. All that is asked is that trains shall not be unreasonably unpunctual, so as to cause great inconvenience and loss to passengers, and perhaps to endanger their lives. An occasional delay of a few minutes would be nothing, but systematic delays of an hour or more could certainly be prevented.

Mr. MOON, on the part of the London and North-Western Railway, has undertaken the more onerous task of defending that railway against the strictures of the PRESIDENT of the BOARD of TRADE. He regrets that a charge of the gravest possible character—that of neglecting the means which may be at their command for securing the safety of the public—should have been made against the railway companies; and his argument amounts to a denial that, as far as the London and North-Western is concerned, anything is left undone which can be done to prevent accidents. This is a different line of argument from that taken by Mr. LAING and Mr. CASTLEMAN, who plead that they have scarcely any accidents, and attribute this to the completeness of their precautions. Mr. MOON cannot deny that a good many accidents occur on the London and North-Western; but he resorts to an ingenious argument to comfort the public on this point. He explains that the registration of accidents is more exact than it used to be, and that is the reason why there is apparently a greater number of accidents; so that, in point of fact—and he wishes it to be known for the honour of his Company—the London and North-Western has always been in the habit of killing and maiming a great many more people every year than was generally supposed. It does not seem to us that this helps Mr. MOON very much. The real question is whether accidents occur on this railway which might be prevented. Mr. MOON says No; but the value of this answer obviously depends on what he thinks it possible to do to prevent accidents. The Wigan accident may be taken as a very good test. Mr. MOON contends that this accident "has not been proved to result from any defective arrangements of the Company"; and on this ground compensation has been refused to the sufferers. When it is said that no defective arrangements have been proved, this must mean only that they have not been proved to the satisfaction of the officials of the Company, because it is known that they were proved to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade Inspector and of the jury at the inquest. Captain TYLER pointed out that a train of maximum length had been driven at an excessive rate of speed over "a part of the permanent way where the traffic and shunting were almost incessant, and where a high condition of maintenance was not preserved," through facing-points, the locking apparatus of which was in need of repair. The jury, in returning a verdict of "Accidental death," added that the London and North-Western Company were not justified in allowing engine-drivers to run through such a station at a high rate of speed, and that, in their opinion, the speed of fast and through trains should be materially slackened on passing such places. Yet, after this, we are told that travelling on this railway is made as safe as possible. There was an accident on this railway at Adderley Park station, near Birmingham, on Wednesday, in consequence of the shunting of a goods train in front of a passenger express. In this case the fog is suggested as an excuse; but it happens that a fortnight before there was a precisely similar accident at the same place. There can be no question that many of the principal stations on the North-Western Railway are altogether inadequate for the traffic; that the main line is consequently turned into a goods-yard; and that the perversity of the Company in running expresses at full speed through stations which are constantly blocked in this manner is as infallible a way of putting passengers in danger of being killed or maimed as can possibly be imagined. Mr. MOON asserts that his Company does not

run trains at high speed for its own advantage, that fast trains are very costly and troublesome, and that if Parliament would reduce the speed it would be a gain to the Company. To this it may be answered that it is not usual to find a Railway Company voluntarily sacrificing a legitimate gain in order to serve the public; and that, although a Company may lose in one way by fast trains, it gains in another way. The reason why trains are run at an excessive pace through dangerous junctions is simply because, if trains were not hurried on this way, the Companies would not get so much traffic as at present over the existing lines. Mr. MOON takes credit to the Company for having laid down additional lines and enlarged stations and sidings at various points, as if all this were a pure sacrifice for the public. It is not, however, exactly a sacrifice for a flourishing trader to enlarge his premises so that he may do a larger business, and this is simply what the North-Western has done. It could not by any possibility have carried its increasing traffic unless it had provided some further accommodation for it, and the quarrel which the public has with the Company is that it has not yet done enough in that way to provide for the safety of travellers.

LORD CARNARVON ON SCIENCE.

LORD CARNARVON has been delivering an address which puts into something like definite shape a vague but widely diffused prejudice. Some excellent people regard science as necessarily irreligious; and though we would hope that wider knowledge is beginning to dissipate that fear, many people still think, and not without some justification, that scientific study encourages a harsh, dogmatic, and prosaic frame of mind. We should be glad if we could altogether deny the truth of this imputation; but we are bound in conscience to admit that it is not entirely groundless. A one-sided development produces characteristic faults. A man who devotes himself entirely to art is occasionally wanting in respect for abstract truth, and tries to meet argument by unreasoning sentiment. The man, on the other hand, who devotes himself entirely to science is apt to despise any consideration which cannot be packed into a rigid formula, and sometimes carries into an inappropriate sphere the habits of positive assertion which he has acquired in the region of strict demonstration. All this is not only true, but important at the present moment. Lord Carnarvon had a very good theme in impressing upon a youthful audience the importance of a complete culture. The tendency of modern education, especially as fostered by competitive examination, is to make specialists of boys as well as of men. The lad who thinks no study valuable except as it is productive of marks is likely to develop into the man who thinks no piece of knowledge useful that cannot be expressed in a statistical table. And there could be no more appropriate occasion than a distribution of prizes for insisting upon the miserable nature of a training which encourages a youth to devote himself exclusively to some one branch of knowledge at the period when his mind is still most plastic. We could, however, have wished that Lord Carnarvon had taken a more complete view of his subject. He might have pointed out that science should be an essential part of a sound education, though it should not be pursued to the exclusion of others. We fear that at present the danger of turning out youths too thoroughly imbued with scientific notions is extremely remote, and that it is much more important to improve our methods of scientific teaching than to take precautions against its being pushed to excess.

Meanwhile, however, let us look a little more closely at Lord Carnarvon's argument. There runs through it an assumption which is tacitly made by a great many popular writers, though it is not very easy to put it into a definite shape. Science is frequently personified and regarded as a sort of dark power working on principles of its own entirely opposed to those which prevail in other spheres of thought. Science and religion, or science and art, are talked about as though they were antagonistic forces, and as though a proposition might be artistically true and scientifically false, or *vice versa*. It is therefore worth while to repeat once more that science is nothing except organized and accurate knowledge. We can talk scientifically about chemical questions because we have discovered certain invariable chemical laws, and can deduce consequences from them with what we call absolute accuracy. Sociology is not yet, if it ever will be, a science except in name, because we have not discovered such laws; and our knowledge is therefore empirical and unsystematic. Science therefore includes that province of inquiry which has been fairly conquered and mapped out; and though new regions are being daily annexed, there are still whole continents where we have to guide our course by guesswork, and not by rules worked into a definite system. The more thoroughly imbued a man may be with the scientific spirit, the more perfectly he will appreciate the limits within which his methods are really satisfactory. If scientific study teaches him to speak with absolute confidence in regard to mathematical questions, and with some approach to absolute confidence in many chemical or physiological questions, it should teach him as emphatically that

such certainty is out of place in the inquiries which still lie beyond the scientific region. This gives the real answer to some of Lord Carnarvon's complaints about scientific tendencies. He tells us, for example, that Comte proposed to erect an intolerable despotism by transferring all the powers hitherto wielded by priests to men of science. Lord Carnarvon's opinion is supported by Mr. Mill, and by almost everybody who is not a true believer in the "religion of humanity." But what is the vital error in Comte's social system? Lord Carnarvon seems to think that the fault was that the system did not make allowance for the "tender and softer feelings"; and therefore he appears to fancy that Comte's aim was to force all people to be mere mathematicians and physicists. Now the fact is that, on the very contrary, Comte had a wildly exaggerated view of the dangers of an exclusively scientific training. He proposed that the "softer feelings" should be most elaborately cultivated, and it is one of his most characteristic fancies that the progress of knowledge should be summarily stopped. He condemned all scientific inquiry which was not directly useful as "otiose," or unsocial. Such speculations, for example, as those of Mr. Darwin were to be abandoned, because they had no distinct bearing, as he thought, upon human happiness. Thus Comte's system, so far from being remorselessly scientific, was profoundly anti-scientific. And indeed, in a wider sense, this is one vital objection to his theories. Even if, for the sake of argument, we should assume with Mr. Mill that his earlier philosophy was correct, there would still remain the fact that his later doctrines were radically opposed in spirit to his earlier. He could not wait for the slow process of scientific generalization, and therefore proposed to construct the society of the future by an arbitrary and most unscientific method. Thus the true answer to Comte's scheme is not to attack science, but to insist upon scientific principles being logically carried out. His Utopia is constructed in absolute defiance of the scientific views of history; for they prove that new social forms must be slowly evolved out of the existing order, whilst he proposed to build up a new order on principles arbitrarily assumed, and therefore, as men of science think, fundamentally erroneous.

It is probable enough that Comte's dogmatism was, partly at least, the result of his scientific training. Men of science are very apt to be illogical, as well as their weaker brethren. Because they have a right to be dogmatical about the recurrence of an eclipse, they think that they may be dogmatical in forecasting the details of a social revolution. They forget that their confidence is in one case justified by discoveries to which there is no parallel in the other case. This tendency is much to be regretted; but the radical remedy is to be found in teaching science more thoroughly. Nothing can so forcibly impress upon a reasonable person the folly of dogmatism in social and political questions as a thorough appreciation of the nature of the process which has to be gone through before we are entitled to speak positively about matters far more accessible to scientific investigations. It is the sciolists and smatterers in science who develop into dogmatists, and talk nonsense about the inexorable laws of political economy. The delusion is dispelled when a man really understands the conditions necessary for discussing new truths in any complex mass of phenomena.

If science, properly understood, should apply the best remedy to dogmatism, it is equally true that it need not be prejudicial to the development of sentiment. Lord Carnarvon's illustrations upon this point strike us as rather unfortunate. Italy, he tells us, in the middle ages was pre-eminently cruel and pre-eminently scientific. The reply that science in its modern sense did not then exist, and that such science as did exist was confined to a small number of educated men, is too obvious to be dwelt upon; and we might add that, if Italy was pre-eminent in science, it was equally pre-eminent in poetry. The connexion between Dante and cruelty might be made out as easily as the connexion between mediæval "science" and cruelty. To reason, however, from a single coincidence is silly. Nobody can say that modern science is really provocative of cruelty. The study of natural history tends to increase our tenderness towards the lower ranks of created beings, as it makes us more distinctly recognize our relations to them. The study of physiology brings with it a clearer appreciation of the conditions of health, and, as it extends our power of treating disease, encourages us in efforts to improve the condition of our race. In fact, all extension of knowledge has a natural tendency to extend sympathy; and, if we may judge from the present, the characteristic of a scientific age is rather to make man humane to the borders of effeminacy than to make him more brutal. This, however, is but one part of the case. The tendency of science to suppress feeling was illustrated by Lord Carnarvon from the case of Mr. Mill. James Mill, he tells us, endeavoured to trample out everything approaching to feeling in his own nature. We need not now inquire at length how far this was true. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the father subjected his son to a puritanical rigidity of discipline which was not so much calculated to suppress feeling as to direct it along a peculiar channel. At any rate, if the attempt were made, it was curiously unsuccessful. The very last reproach that can be made against Mr. Mill is that his feelings were too feeble. On the contrary, they were so powerful as to lead him to weaknesses most remarkable in a man who could, in some departments of thought, keep his prejudices so far from his opinions. But, not to reason from a particular instance, what are we to say of the general principle? Does scientific training really tend to enfeeble the emotional nature? Undoubtedly it may do so. So also, we will add, may athletic training; a boy who only thinks

of developing his muscles, may allow his mind and his affections to run to seed. This would be an excellent reason for denouncing an excess of athletic training; and for a parallel reason, we should share Lord Carnarvon's objection to an exclusively scientific training. But, we will add, the same thing may be said of an exclusively literary or artistic training. The propensity to attach an exaggerated importance to art is as debilitating to the emotional nature in one direction as a similar exaggeration in regard to science is in another. People who shrink from dry investigation of hard facts, and wish to cultivate sentiment without regard to truth, become artistic voluptuaries. An excessive devotion to the beautiful unfits a man for practical life, and generates those forms of art which are corrupting in proportion as they are attractive. To banish all romance from our minds would indeed be a fatal policy; but it is just as fatal to encourage a habit of indolent dreaming without reference to action. The evils produced by this disposition are as conspicuous in modern society as the evils produced by a too great devotion to science. Much of our poetical and fictitious literature is avowedly composed upon hedonist principles—that is to say, with the single aim of giving pleasure without reference to scientific or to moral considerations. That whatever is pleasant is right seems to be its vital formula; and therefore much modern art becomes hopelessly effeminate and often directly demoralizing. The habits of mind produced by scientific study are a most useful corrective to the tendencies thus fostered. Mere bare knowledge of facts is not by itself elevating, but a profound respect for realities and an uncompromising love of truth are qualities which were never more needed than now, and which are encouraged most unequivocally by scientific inquiry. Instead, therefore, of reviling art or science, we should be disposed to insist upon the importance of constructing an educational system with a due regard to both elements, and to point out that the ideal human being is one in whom the faculties are properly balanced, and not one in whom one set has been developed out of its due proportion. Probably Lord Carnarvon would agree in this doctrine, and wished more or less to express it; but his dislike to certain scientific tendencies led him to put his statements with too little qualification, and to justify them by some very unsound and inappropriate arguments. Surely the thing which most needs to be impressed upon boys is not that scientific study is apt to be objectionable. They have quite sufficient prejudices against it already, without having a quasi-philosophical pretext provided as a cover for sheer indolence and intellectual inertia.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER'S ADVENTURES.

SIR SAMUEL BAKER has given the Geographical Society a spirited and stirring narrative of his adventures in Central Africa. It is quite as good in its way as *Robinson Crusoe*, and must have whetted the appetite of the public for his forthcoming book. There can be no doubt that Sir Samuel and his wife have gone through a great many perils, and have displayed remarkable courage and intrepidity; and it was perhaps unavoidable that he should make himself the hero of his story. Egypt, as he announced a few months ago in a Napoleonic despatch, now extends to the Equator. This appears to mean that Sir S. Baker himself reached this point, and that he desired the people of the countries through which he passed to consider themselves annexed; but it is just possible that his successor, if he should follow in his footsteps, may find it necessary to repeat the process of annexation on his own account. Sir Samuel, with characteristic magnanimity, has transferred his annexations to the Khedive, and has apparently no desire to revisit them. The principal fact seems to be that he pushed his way through a succession of swamps and jungles in the teeth of hostile tribes, and that he has come back alive. It is not everybody who could do this, and Sir Samuel has a right to be proud of his achievements. The object of the expedition, as its commander understood it, was the suppression of the slave trade in the distant countries which form the Nile basin. The Khedive, we are told, has the misfortune to be the anti-slavery sovereign of a country in which slavery is a great national institution, and the slave trade a lucrative commerce. It is also said that he is so unfortunate as to be a large slaveholder himself, of course very much against his own feelings, and only in deference to the prejudices of his subjects. The Abyssinian war directed his Highness's attention to the territories lying on the Egyptian border, and he was inspired with natural indignation at the thought of the atrocities which were constantly being committed in the great slave trade region of the Central Nile. If he could not put down slavery in his own country, he would at least try to put down the slave trade in somebody else's country. By this means he would satisfy his own conscience without offending public opinion in Egypt, of which, being only an Eastern despot, he naturally stands very much in awe. An expedition was therefore resolved upon, the object of which was to be the suppression of the slave trade; but it was foreseen, among other details, that this would involve the establishment of the authority of the Egyptian Government throughout the Central Nile basin. And to elect this, as Sir S. Baker frankly puts it, "it was necessary to annex the country." It does not appear to have occurred to Sir Samuel, when he was asked to take the command of the expedition, to inquire what right the Khedive had to annex a country which did not belong to him. It is obvious, however, that the philanthropic enterprise took the form of an invasion of independent territories with a view to annexation.

Sir S. Baker's account of the deplorable condition of this region in consequence of the slave trade may be readily accepted. Magnificent countries in the heart of Africa have been pillaged and desolated, villages burnt, the male population massacred, and women and children carried off into slavery. The home provinces of Khartoum have also suffered by the emigration of the inhabitants, who have abandoned their agricultural operations for plunder and vagabondage. Sir S. Baker describes thousands of acres of fertile soil bordering the Nile as having been forsaken by the Arabs. A country which he had seen on his first visit in a high state of cultivation had become a wilderness. Between Khartoum and Berber—a distance of some two hundred miles—gardens, water-wheels, flourishing villages had disappeared. The negro tribes of the Nile basin, always divided among themselves, and without a central government, fell an easy prey to the Arab slave-hunters of the Soudan. Delays occurred in starting the expedition which led to more serious delays afterwards. At latitude 920 degrees it was found that the Nile had been converted from a great stream into a vast marsh. An attempt was made to cut through the dense vegetation, and to make use of the narrow channels; but it was impossible to do this before the rains set in. So the party had to wait till next year. At first Sir S. Baker had only 800 men—a loose ill-disciplined body of Egyptians, Arabs, and negroes, and a handful of English artisans. When he next started, he had a force of 1,200 men, but the numbers were continually reduced by disease, deserts, and casualties in fighting. The sympathies of the Egyptians were with the slave-traders, and they had little relish for the fatigues and perils of the campaign. Incipient mutiny had to be guarded against, as well as perpetual ambushes. With great difficulty the steamer, ammunition, and baggage were dragged through the thick mud-slush and tangled vegetation, and the expedition got afloat once more on the stream of the Upper Nile. At Gondokoro the negroes were found to be different from what they are depicted at Exeter Hall. The great object of the "man and the brother" is, it seems, to capture and make slaves of his brothers. Sir Samuel, however, felt that he was not only a general, but a missionary, and he was equal to the occasion. He preached a sermon against slavery to a chief who appeared to be extremely touched by it, but at the end of the discourse offered to sell his little boy for a good iron spade. At this point the troops mutinied, and insisted upon being led home; their leader, however, took no notice of their message, but caused a sudden alarm to be beaten in the middle of the night, and despatched his men, before they had time to reflect, against a hostile tribe who had been menacing the camp. The troops were successful, and got possession of corn enough for twelve months' consumption, and this put them in a better temper. Sir S. Baker, by the help of a friendly tribe who carried his baggage—he had been disappointed in obtaining camels from Khartoum—next pushed on to Fattiko, the capital of a pleasant country situated at an elevation of four thousand feet above the sea-level. The soil is fertile and well-timbered, and the people docile. Here there was a halt for the rainy season, which lasted for several months. With about four hundred men, leaving the rest at Fattiko, Baker made his way to Masindi, where the King tried to get rid of them by sending into the camp jars of poisoned cider. The leader had now to be a doctor as well as a general and a missionary, for many of his men were flat on their stomachs. He distributed emetics, and they recovered. Next morning the King attacked the camp in force with seven or eight thousand negroes, but the expedition, with forty Snider rifles and rockets, beat them off. This King—a very bad fellow, who had asked all his relations to dinner, and then murdered them—unfortunately escaped. The camp was now broken up, and the expedition made for a more friendly district. They were pursued for seven days through thick tall grass. The enemy cut long clear spaces in the jungle in which ten thousand men might be concealed, and "you only knew they were going to attack by hearing a peculiar whistle, like the note of a bird, which was their signal." After a brief stay with a friendly chief, with whom he "exchanged blood," each taking a drop of blood from the other's arm on his tongue, and thus becoming kinsmen, Baker was suddenly recalled to Fattiko by the news that his depot there was in danger. He arrived in time to drive off the enemy, and from that day, he says, the difficulty was to prevent the natives from attacking the slave-hunters. He confiscated the ivory belonging to the latter, worth 30,000*l.*, established a form of government, and imposed a tax which the negroes paid regularly, although he remarks that negroes, like other people, are fond of being protected, but are not very fond of paying for it. He then marched to Gondokoro in triumph, and, leaving an Egyptian colonel in command, set his face homewards.

It has been announced that Colonel Gordon of the Royal Engineers has accepted the command which Sir S. Baker has resigned; and it will be interesting to know, when he visits the annexed regions, how much remains of the Government established by his predecessor, and whether the natives continue to pay for protection, or have any protection to pay for. It is probable, however, that Sir S. Baker has at least left behind him in the nominally annexed countries an impression that the Khedive has very long arms, and is not a man to quarrel with; and no doubt the Khedive, if he cares about it, would not have much difficulty in establishing some sort of suzerainty in this quarter. However imperfect may be the civilization of Egypt, it may be assumed that it is at any rate superior to the primitive condition of the people of the Central Nile basin, and government by Pashas can hardly be worse than government by kings of the type of the monarch of Masindi. It appears to be beyond doubt that there is a large and

fertile area to be opened up to cultivation and commerce; and if the Egyptians can put steamboats on the lakes and rivers, they will naturally command the country. The extension of Egypt to the Equator, nominal as it is, is probably for the present more real than the suppression of the slave trade. We are told that there are at present only three persons in Egypt who entertain anti-slavery convictions, and these are the Khedive and two of his chief Ministers. Sir S. Baker, whose own sincerity is beyond question, vouches for the sincerity of the Khedive; but it must strike every one as strange that, if his Highness is really bent on putting down the slave trade, he should begin such a very long way off. If his Government had not connived at the traffic, it would by this time have been reduced to small dimensions, and it would of course be simpler and more natural to deal with the evil at home by closing the markets than by attempting to suppress it in a distant country. It may be assumed that, as long as domestic slavery exists in Egypt, a supply of slaves will be maintained; and, if the Khedive is anxious to convert his subjects to his own views on this matter, it is odd that he does not set them an example in his own household. If the Egyptian Government would undertake in earnest the extinction of this abominable traffic, it might give it a very good title to extend its authority; but it can hardly be supposed that the formulas of international law will be deliberately weighed in such a matter. It has not been stated in what direction Colonel Gordon is to direct his steps; but it is conceivable that the explorations in the South may have been sufficient for the present to satisfy the Khedive, and that his curiosity may now be turned towards the richer countries in the East. A claim to the sovereignty of the basin of the Nile and its affluents would include the Abyssinian kingdom; and we may repeat what we have said before, that the participation of English officers in an Egyptian invasion of that country—no matter how philanthropic the pretext—would not be popular or judicious. That, however, is still a question for the future.

BASILICAN CHURCHES.

THE shape and arrangements which, from the days of Constantine onwards, have been usual in churches throughout Western Christendom are in themselves the greatest of all cases of the triumph of the new creed over the old. We say creed, for the Paganism which Christianity had in the end to strive against and overcome really was a creed. Julian, Libanius, Zósimos, strove for a system which was to them no mere poetic fiction, no mere affair of State, but as truly a system of faith and morals as the creed of their Christian adversaries. Christianity had to strive at once against the superstition of the mere mob, against the political traditions of Romans of the old school, and against the convictions of those with whom Paganism was a real religion. These last hated Christianity, but they learned from it while hating it. The preaching of Christianity reformed Paganism, just as the preaching of the Reformation reformed the Church of Rome. Julian is to Caracalla or Gallienus what Sixtus the Fifth is to the Borgias and the Medici. An ordinary Roman Emperor or Senator had doubtless no such deep faith in Jupiter Optimus Maximus as Julian had in his Hellenic deities; but Jupiter Optimus Maximus had so long formed a part, as it were, of the very being of the Emperor, Senate, and People of Rome that it seemed to him that he who spoke against Jupiter could not be the friend of Cæsar. Christianity had to strive against both these forms of enmity, and it overcame both. Philosophic Paganism died out; it was soon found that Christianity itself supplied room enough for both the higher and the lower parts of such a character as Julian's. Political Paganism grew into political Christianity; the ideas of Christ and Cæsar became as inseparably bound together as the ideas of Jupiter and Cæsar once had been. It is indeed in the East rather than the West that this state of things attained its fullest development; in the West the absence of the Emperors from Rome allowed the Popes to grow as their brethren of Constantinople never grew. Still the real Roman feeling must have been stronger in Rome, Italy, and the West generally than it ever could have been in the East. And, in the West as well as in the East, Christianity in the end triumphed over both forms of opposition. And nowhere is the record of that triumph more legibly written than on the existing buildings of Rome itself.

The architectural monuments of earlier times which supplied the early Christian buildings with materials and models fall mainly under two heads, answering to the two classes of enemies against which the new faith had had to strive. These were the Pagan temples and the great secular buildings, the basilicas. The new builders made free use of both, but they made use of them in different ways. The temples were freely used for materials; their columns were constantly set up again in Christian churches; but the employment of an existing temple without change as a Christian church was decidedly exceptional, and it was only an exceptional class of temples which had any effect on the arrangements of an exceptional class of churches. Round temples, as well as sepulchral monuments, had probably a share in the parentage of that class of round and octagonal churches which, though at all times comparatively rare, have at all times gone on side by side with the more usual forms. The Pantheon and the so-called Temple of Minerva Medica, as well as the tomb of Cecilia Metella, doubtless had their effect on St. Vital and Brescia, on Aachen and St. Gereon, on the Temple Church and Little Maplestead, as well as on a long list of baptisteries and sepulchral churches, includ-

ing all the churches of the Holy Sepulchre, whether at Jerusalem, Bologna, Cambridge, or Northampton. We have the Pantheon itself consecrated as a Christian church, as if to show how little suited for that purpose the unaltered circular form was. We have the sepulchral church which goes by the name of St. Constantia, where the inner range of coupled columns and arches brings us many degrees nearer to Aachen and the Sepulchre churches. And we have the wonderful church of San Stefano Rotondo on the Coelian, with its three concentric circles—the outer one now shut out from the building—and the strange but bold triplet of arches built across the middle.

Still buildings of this kind, though numerous enough to be ranked as a class by themselves, were still always a minority. Among all the churches in Rome, among all the remains of temples, the Pantheon is the only temple which has been turned into a church without change or mutilation. Such cases as the Temple of Faustina and the neighbouring temple which forms part of the church of St. Cosmas and Damian are after all mere cases of adaptation of fragments; the dedication of small temples like the two, round and oblong, called each by many conjectural names, which stand between the House of Crescentius and the church of St. Mary in Cosmedin was really little more than a pious freak of later times. Though many churches in Rome, like those just mentioned, have risen on the sites of temples and have preserved parts of temples in their structure, there is no case of a large oblong temple in use as a church, as the Parthenon and the Temple of Theseus were once used at Athens. The fact is that the ordinary form of temple was not at all suited for the purposes of Christian worship; the Pagan temple was all outside, the Christian church was all inside. Temples were therefore freely destroyed to build churches out of their remains; but the use of an actual temple as a church was rare, and temple architecture had no direct effect upon the arrangement of Christian churches.

It was far different with the other class of buildings, the buildings which symbolized, not the heathen creed of the elder Rome, but the dominion of the Senate and People and their master. If the temple was unsuited to Christian purposes, the basilica, the Hall of Justice, was of all buildings the best suited. The basilica was, in fact, the temple turned inside out. As the temple consisted of a walled building surrounded by external colonnades, so the basilica consisted of internal colonnades placed inside a walled building. Exactly as in the temple, the colonnades in their various forms long remained the only architectural feature, and it was a standing difficulty to know what to do with either the outside or the roof. Both at Rome and at Ravenna we are constantly struck by the mean and shapeless look outside of buildings which are of a truth all glorious within. It is only in St. Apollinaris at Classe that we meet with the first feeble approach to the later Romanesque forms of external ornament. But the temple thus turned inside out became, in the form of the basilica, exactly what was needed for Christian uses. There was the long nave ready to receive congregations which needed to assemble within and not without their houses of worship. There was the apse or tribune with its rows of official seats, ready to become the official seats of the bishop and his clergy; there were the *cancelli* ready made to part off the holier part of the building from the less holy. In those basilicas which had the *chalcidice* or transept the symbolical form of the cross was already impressed on the buildings in heathen times. The basilica was in every point a ready-made church; it could at once be used as such, and it could become the model of new churches built after its likeness. And out of the basilica have grown all the usual forms of churches used in Western Europe. The main internal features of all are the same; the chief difference is that Northern architects learned to give their buildings an external outline to which Italy even in its best days, in the days of Pisa and Lucca, always remained a stranger. The bell tower, which in Italy stood apart, became part of the building, and was multiplied in number; the crossing, unmarked in the ancient basilica, was marked by the central cupola or tower. By these means the unadorned outside of the old basilica grew into the varied outlines of Caen and Ely and Lichfield, and into the outlines more varied still of Worms and Bamberg and Gelnhausen.

To have thus turned the basilica to Christian uses was almost a greater triumph than to have done the like by Pagan temples. To destroy the temples and to consecrate the basilicas was the most speaking expression of the facts that the Pagan worship had come to an end and that the Empire itself had become Christian. When the seat whence the heathen judge had spoken the sentence which handed over the martyr to the sword or to the lions became the seat from which the Bishop arose to celebrate the Christian mysteries, no more speaking embodiment could be needed of the triumphant climax, "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat." It was a sign that the Roman Empire was beginning to deserve its later title of Holy, a sign that the Chief Pontiff of idols was passing into the Advocate of the Universal Church. Whether any building now exists which has served as a basilica both in the heathen and the Christian sense of the word may well be doubted; but that the Christian church borrowed all its arrangements from the heathen hall of judgment there can be no doubt. They are as clearly marked, to the very *cancelli*, in the small but most elegant *Basilica Jovis* on the Palatine as in the most fully developed Christian building. The chief alteration which the basilican type received at the hands of Christian builders was one purely architectural—the great invention of Diocletian at Spalato, the discovery that the column might be used as the support of the arch. The heathen basilicas followed two

systems of construction; the division between the nave and its aisles might be made either by columns supporting an entablature, as in the *Basilica Jovis*, or by massive piers supporting arches, as in the *Julian Basilica* and in that of *Maxentius or Constantine*, whichever it is to be called. The latter of these seems the natural prototype of the more massive Romanesque forms of Germany and Northern Italy, but we do not find it used in the basilican churches either of Rome or of Ravenna. Its great advantage was that it allowed the building to be vaulted—witness the mighty vaults of the *Basilica of Constantine*—which could hardly be the case either when the building followed the Greek construction or when the arches rested on columns. This last, in its various shapes, became the received form, but it is wonderful how hard a fight the Greek construction made. At Ravenna there is no case of the use of an entablature; the columns always support arches, though always with that intervening stilt which is the characteristic of the local style of that city. But at Rome some of the greatest basilicas still kept the construction of the entablature. To mention, for the present, no other cases, it was so in the nave of the old St. Peter's, the *Vatican Basilica*, and it is so still in the great *Liberian Basilica*, better known as *Sta. Maria Maggiore*. But the arcade is so clearly better suited for the uses of a church, or indeed for the internal uses of almost any building of any kind, that this kind of construction seems to have remained in use only in Rome, where the architects must have been more than anywhere else under the strongest influence of classical models. Elsewhere the arcade resting on columns became the universal use, and even in Rome it became more usual than its rival. Gradually, as the architects became more alive to the capacities of the form of construction which they had now worked out, the columns no longer gathered so timidly together as they do in the earlier examples, but began to stand further apart, and to support arches of greater span, as we see in the basilican churches of Lucca as compared with those of Ravenna. At Lucca indeed some of the arches are so wide that we feel that we are on the way to the great fault of later Italian architecture, those broad sprawling arches which disfigure most of the churches of the Italian pseudo-Gothic. Still it is perhaps only because we have these in our remembrance that we are inclined to look with some little dissatisfaction on the width of the arches at Lucca; there is nothing which really offends the eye in the buildings themselves; and, constructively, a moderate increase in the width of the arch must be looked on as an improvement and advance. In some of the churches at Lucca also we find the columns supplanted by a square pier, having nothing in common with the massive square piers of the German churches, being hardly thicker than the column itself. Still it is the column—if possible, the marble monolith column of classical type—which is the proper support of the arches in a basilican church. The column, which had been brought into artistic being as the support of the entablature on the outside of the Grecian temple, had worked out for itself a use no less elegant, no less appropriate, when it became the support of the internal arcades of the Christian church. But so long as the arches rested on columns, so long the roof ever remained the great difficulty, and the weakest point of the building. It had either to keep its naked construction of tie-beams and rafters, which the architects of those days had not learned, like English architects of a far later day, to work into an ornamental form, or else the construction had to be hidden by a flat ceiling. The noblest form of roof, the stone vault, called for something more massive than the column as its support. The column and the vault could be used together only in cases like crypts, where a great number of columns support a vault and nothing else. In the main fabric of the church the vault and the column could not be used together, and, as the most perfect form of roof came more and more into use, the most graceful form of support for the arcades was necessarily laid aside.

We have said that all the later arrangements of churches grew out of the basilica. As long as round-arched architecture of any type remained in use, the round apse was the direct successor of the tribune of the basilica; and in a great number of continental churches the tradition of placing the seats of the clergy behind the altar has lingered on in various corrupted forms. It can of course retain anything of its primitive effect only when the altar is unencumbered by those monstrous excrescences of later times with which most French and Italian altars are disfigured. The change from the round to the polygonal apse was simply the necessary result of the change from the round to the pointed arch. In Germany the single polygonal apse, as simple in its ground plan as the polygonal apse of the basilica, remained commonly in use. We see it on a gigantic scale at Aachen. In France the habit of surrounding the great apse with smaller ones, which began in Romanesque times, and which was a natural result of the multiplication of altars, grew into such east ends as Amiens, Rheims, and St. Ouen's, and as Köln, Westminster, and Tewkesbury in other lands. We have now reached something widely different indeed from the tribune of the *Basilica Jovis*, and from the apses of St. Apollinaris and St. Ambrose; but the steps by which one grew out of the other are apparent enough.

In the like sort, the constructive choir, which forms so important a feature in most later churches, great and small, grew out of what in the ancient basilicas was a feature, not of construction, but of arrangement. While the Bishop and his priests occupied the seats behind the altar, the humbler ministers of the church had their places in the *chorus cantorum* in the front of it. As has been pointed out over and over again, we see this arrangement in per-

fection in St. Clement's at Rome, where the choir is fenced in by a low wall not stretching across the church. But it has not been so generally observed that a fashion set in very early of marking the extent of this part of the church by something in the architecture, by giving the columns or other piers at this point some character special to themselves, distinguishing them from those on either side of them. This may be seen in more than one church at Rome and at Lucca. The transition from this is very easy to churches like Westminster, Llandaff, Norwich, and St. Albans, and again to a vast number of our latest English parish churches, where the nave and the choir form one architectural whole, the distinction being made merely by screens and the like. And the more familiar form, in which the choir has a distinct architectural being, is again produced by a modification of another feature of the basilica type. The *chalcidice* or transept is always rather an awkward feature in a basilica; it is too distinctly at cross-purposes to the nave and apse, and it is in no way fused into one whole with them. The Romanesque architects, by moving the tower or cupola to the centre of the church, at once gave the transept a meaning and made it part of one whole with the rest of the building. It was a natural stage, when the choir had once begun to be a marked feature in the building, to make the transept and what the transept supports become the division between the nave and the choir. That is to say, the choir was placed east of the transept, as in most of our later cathedral and other great churches. The apse now became a mere finish to the choir, and in England it was commonly left out altogether. We have thus reached an arrangement which has gone very far away from that of the basilica, but the steps by which one grew out of the other are perfectly clear.

The name basilica is, both by mediæval and modern writers, often applied to churches of special dignity and antiquity of whatever form. The word however is wanted as a technical term, and it is better to confine its use to churches which still keep pretty closely to the arrangements of the ancient basilicas, a type of which Rome, Ravenna, and Lucca supply the best examples.

CATTLE AND MEAT.

THE Smithfield Club has again accomplished its annual success; and if the object of its existence be, as we presume it must be, to organize great Christmas Cattle Shows, right well is its purpose achieved. It would be a curious matter for inquiry whether the Cattle Show depends more for its receipts on visitors from the country or on Londoners. Certain it seems to be that no annually recurring attraction brings to London so many people from the country, except the Derby race week; and then between the two events, to use the sporting phrase, the distinction may be made that the Cattle Show brings up the country people proper, while the Derby draws more upon the town populations. The managers of the Cattle Show have great, and no doubt well-founded, confidence not only in the attraction of their prize lists for exhibitors possessing the best animals of the day, but also in the firm attachment of the public for settled institutions. And no one will deny that the Smithfield Club Show is one of the institutions of the country; for, although it is understood that the original reason for the exclusion of animals that have appeared at other recent shows—namely, the fear of contagious diseases—has to a great extent passed away, yet they continue to refuse to admit to competition animals that have been exhibited elsewhere. That their confidence is justified is apparent on a view of the well-filled prize list, and from the excellence of the specimens of the various races named in it. The impossibility of creating such buildings as the great Islington Hall in many country towns gives the Smithfield Club the assurance of almost a monopoly of such great winter exhibitions as theirs, for in our climate the gate-money of a cattle show held in an unprotected or partially protected ground in the month of December would hardly pay for advertisements. At Islington, however, we get, thanks to the care that has been bestowed on sanitary arrangements, not only protection, but comfort, at least in any weather except such dense fogs as those of this week; and thus, after all, it is perhaps only in a just reliance on their advantages that the managers insist that their bill of fare shall consist entirely of novelties even for enthusiasts or experts whose pleasure or business takes them to a round of country shows. Fog in the open air seems to have been less noxious to the animals than fog in the building; but, in spite of the fog, which was so dense as almost to put a stop to business and to the circulation of vehicles, the attendance of spectators was larger than could have been expected. That the Show should lose a large proportion of the "exhibits" by removal to avoid the danger of asphyxia is a contingency which could not have been foreseen, and for which there seems to be no remedy.

Too much has already been done, too great advances have been already made, in the art of breeding and rearing the animals that form the staple of human food, to leave any room for the expectation that astonishment will be created by the view of the specimens shown, or that they will demonstrate any great improvement on the animals of former years. It is well if the acme of perfection as to symmetry of form and vigour of race be not already a thing of the past. Even if that be so with regard to the highest-bred specimens, yet it cannot be doubted that the good qualities which year after year have been demonstrated to belong to certain breeds and strains of blood have induced a general

carefulness in breeding our flocks and our herds, resulting in the possession by this country of a stock unrivalled by any other country for early maturity and large average meat productions. It is almost strange that, with the great variety of climate which our islands afford, no more than four well-marked breeds of cattle have made them their home; but still we have in those four all the good qualities which can be desired, and to so great perfection has each been brought that from year to year, and between one show and another, the verdicts of the judges vary in awarding the palm of excellence now to the wild and shaggy Scot, now to the compact Shorthorn, now to the majestic Hereford, and again to the elegant Devon. In sheep the varieties are greater, and not to be so readily distinguished by laymen; and probably for this reason, and because they lack the grandeur which the great size of the cattle lends to them, the sheep-pens are always comparatively neglected. The swine attract admiring crowds, who brave the stench apparently inseparable from these animals; and they owe the multitude of their admirers probably to the fact that there are more people who own a pig or pigs in the country than there are people who own either oxen or sheep, and each pig-owner deems it to be his duty to see what can be done in stuffing this most greedy and "fatable" of all animals. After wondering that the digestive apparatus of animals of such tender age should have assimilated the vast quantities of material necessary to build up such mammoths, the next wonderments are, how the creatures were brought from their nurseries to Islington alive, and how they will get away again; and after all their heroic sufferings, if their unhappy state be a suffering to them, what can be their ultimate destination, and what manner of men they can be who eat them?

No one can go to a cattle show without thinking of his butcher's bills, and no one can be blamed for asking how it comes that nothing seems to check their tendency to increase in amount from year to year. A witness before the Select Committee on Contagious Diseases (Animals) rightly called the ruling prices fabulous, and justly said it was alarming when he found the Edinburgh butchers putting forth a notice in June of this year quoting their prices for cash payments at 1s. 2d. per pound for best roasting beef; 1s. 2d. to 1s. 8d. for steaks; legs and loins of mutton, 1s. 1d. to 1s. 3d.; chops, 1s. 4d., &c. Another witness, a butcher, compared the present rates with those which obtained twenty-two years ago, and told the Committee that what he could buy then for 1,000l. now cost him 2,500l. to 2,700l., and that he then paid 3½d. per pound for heifers, while now he had just lately paid 10d. All the information attainable seems to point conclusively to the fact that neither in England nor on the Continent has production kept pace with consumption. The witness we have just quoted said he "knew plenty of places twenty-five years since where the people used to get meat once a week, or once a month, but now they want it once or twice a day"; and they have become far more dainty as to quality, for it is now impossible to sell large coarse fat sheep, and mutton from small good sheep is preferred, even at an additional price of 2d. per pound. Another witness said that where we used to have a pound of meat consumed by the artisan class we have a ton now. And the statistics of the last three years show that the movement in prices is constantly upward for beef and mutton, though downward for pork; and although during the last three months quotations have apparently shown a decline, and there seemed to be some hope of relief, yet on closer inquiry it appears the fall has been only on inferior qualities, and the best sorts are as high as ever. It seems to be clear that it is not only greater quantities of meat that we require, but that the additional supplies must be of the best quality. There is a scrap of comfort to be gathered from the fact that the high prices of meat and of wool appear to have stimulated production; for the summary of the Agricultural Statistics for 1873 shows that we have a stock of nearly twelve per cent. of cattle and eight per cent. of sheep over what we possessed in 1871. In the case of corn there has been no difficulty in supplementing the deficiencies of this country by imports from foreign parts; whatever England has wanted she has always been able to obtain. From the difficulty of transit the import of cattle has always been restricted to those that can be brought from near ports; and it is discouraging to find from the evidence of the Secretary to the Veterinary Department of the Privy Council that our neighbours now want all the cattle they can raise for themselves, and that we cannot obtain any great importation further than we have now without going directly or indirectly to Russia for it, and that we must look forward to the time when the West of Europe, or Europe independently of Russia, and countries somewhat like Russia, such as Galicia and parts of Transylvania, will not breed more cattle than they want for themselves. Germany now imports from Russia as many cattle as she sends to us, and in the Secretary's opinion the time will soon come when we shall have Germany and France competing for the supply we take from Holland. Professor J. B. Simonds confirms this opinion, and adduces "the state of things as existing with regard to Spain as a proof; we found some time ago that all the animals which arrived in this country were old animals; they were keeping all their young animals in the country, using them for breeding purposes and for working and so on; now we have exhausted that supply, and we are bringing young animals from Spain, and also from Portugal." He is told by those who gather animals in Spain for export that "they have the greatest difficulty in getting them together; that all the old animals have been used up." The general statement he hears from importers from the Continent is, that, "with the exception of Schleswig Holstein, if you take Russia

and all central Europe, they have very few cattle to send us, and when you come to look at the fact that in Bohemia and Moravia animals come from Hungary, Styria, and adjacent countries to be fattened at the distilleries, he thinks it is pretty good proof that they have but little stock of their own to send." It is said that some few scores of bullocks have been brought to Glasgow from America, but whether the experiment will be followed up by any quantities sufficient to tell on our supplies seems to be doubtful. It would indeed be strange if, in the result, we should have to depend on Russia and America for what we lack in beef, in the same way that we now depend upon them to make up our deficiencies in corn. America already sends us the principal part of our salted beef imports as well as immense quantities of bacon and hams. What we want, however, is fresh meat, or meat preserved otherwise than by salting, and that may be used in substitution for home-killed meat. It is to be hoped that the failure of a recent attempt to bring meat from Australia in a frozen state may not be accepted as a final proof of the impossibility of carrying out the system, and that if future experiments are more successful, the meat brought over may suit our fastidious palates. It is, however, very satisfactory to observe the large increase in the preserved meat trade since its commencement in 1867.

After all, it remains doubtful whether we are doing all that we can do to help ourselves by increasing our home supplies. The animals that are to be seen at cattle shows are not supposed to be economically produced, or to be commercially profitable. But beef and mutton at the present scale of prices must pay breeders and feeders large profits, and our hope must be that capital and skill will be attracted to the business of meat-producing. There is a great, and, as we have shown, an increasing gap to be filled, and whatever may be done by the farmers of England and Scotland towards filling it, there is a great opportunity for Ireland; for there is no doubt that Ireland does not contribute to our wants what she may or what she might. Cattle-breeding and cattle-rearing ought to be Ireland's best business, and she could not desire a better customer than England. It is true that she sends us very large quantities of cattle—no less than about one-fifth of our consumption—but she might send more and better. Whether from want of capital or from other causes, the Irish do not give the necessary care to their animals in the early period of their lives, and consequently their export is chiefly composed of undergrown frames, which are distributed to all the grazing and feeding districts of England to be covered with good meat. More care in early days, better food and protection, would nearly double the value of these animals, and would enormously increase the profits of the Irish farmer, while the supply of meat of which England stands so greatly in need would be increased in a similar ratio.

ROMAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

IT is hardly a month since we called attention to the somewhat startling announcement of the intention of Archbishop Manning and his episcopal colleagues to found a Roman Catholic University in England. The language of their collective Pastoral issued last autumn from the Synod of Ware implied, to say the least, that no such step was at present in contemplation, but a fresh and more stringent censure was passed on such Catholics as sent their sons to Oxford and Cambridge, which may suggest the true explanation of this sudden change of tactics in face of what is evidently becoming an inconveniently pressing demand. Our readers may recollect that, since the abolition of tests at Oxford, Dr. Newman has twice been on the eve of returning there, in order to provide for the religious wants of Roman Catholic students; he had even gone so far on both occasions as to purchase ground for building upon, with the liberal aid of the Catholic laity; but the scheme was in either case defeated at the last moment by the machinations of the hierarchy, acting under Dr. Manning's guidance. Still more recently the Jesuits, who do not appear to share the Archbishop's opinion on the subject, obtained ground in St. Giles's for building a college, and the foundation-stone of their new church was laid with much ceremony a year ago in presence of Bishop Ullathorne. It was, however, observed at the time that Dr. Manning absented himself, and the reason is now obvious enough. The new church, we presume, will be completed, but it has lost its *raison d'être*. The authority of Rome has been successfully invoked, not indeed absolutely to prohibit Catholic parents sending their sons to Oxford—that might be too strong a measure to be safely ventured upon—but to do everything short of this. And to the fiat of Rome the Jesuits, powerful as they are, cannot choose but bow. If the laity choose to be equally submissive, they have only themselves to thank. The game is in their own hands; and if a steady stream of Roman Catholic students were poured into Oxford, the ecclesiastical authorities, who are not deficient in astuteness, might be trusted to discover the necessity of adapting their policy to the circumstances. When it was first rumoured some years ago that the Roman Catholic bishops were about to put a veto on Oxford education, a shrewd ecclesiastic of the old school, who has since passed away, is reported to have observed, "Then they won't be obeyed." It remains to be seen how far his prediction will be justified. All that can be said as yet is that a numerous signed lay address, deprecating any interference with the free use of the national Universities by Catholics, was sent to Rome about the time when Dr. Manning became archbishop, and that the growing dissatisfaction of the English Catholic laity with their virtual ex-

clusion, solely by the act of their own spiritual rulers, from all University education, has at length constrained the bishops to start the singular scheme just announced for supplying the deficiency themselves.

It was certainly rather startling, when we consider their relative numbers, to be told that the English Roman Catholics proposed to found a separate University; and it was still more amazing to hear that Mgr. Capel, who was himself educated at a Training College for national schoolmasters at Hammersmith, was to be the head of it. But surprise yields on fuller explanation to something very like a feeling of amusement. It appears, after all, that the new University introduced with such a flourish of trumpets by the Ultramontane press is merely to consist of a sort of College at Kensington, to be affiliated to the London University, and that the fact of Mgr. Capel having already purchased ground there for another purpose, coupled with his well-known command of the purse-strings of a portion of the female aristocracy, suggested the expediency of utilizing his services as "Rector." To be sure those for whose benefit the scheme is ostensibly designed might fairly complain that it offers them nothing which they did not possess before. Several of the existing Roman Catholic colleges, such as Stonyhurst and Oscott, are already affiliated to the University of London, and if dangers to "faith and morals" are apprehended from a residence in Oxford, it is rather difficult to understand how the peril can be escaped or lessened by residing in the great Babylon of the metropolis. Perhaps it will be argued that the examinations and lectures at Oxford are especially dangerous to faith, but then Archbishop Manning declared not many months ago in a speech at Liverpool that the London University lectures were so deleterious as not only to pervert the intellects of Catholic students, but even to alter the structure of their brains. So that it is not very easy to see what advantages, spiritual or temporal, the proposed scheme will confer on the much-vexed youth who are at present groaning under their ostracism from the higher education of their countrymen. The proposed remedy, when a little more closely examined, ceases indeed to be ambitious, but ceases also to provide any remedy of the alleged grievance. *Parturiunt montes*; is there not a semblance of the ridiculous about the result?

Meanwhile, English Roman Catholics, if any such there be, who are disturbed by this lame and impotent conclusion of the idea of a new University, may perhaps derive some consolation in their disappointment from a glance across the Irish Channel. The blessing which is still to be denied them in England has been enjoyed for the last twenty years by their co-religionists of the sister isle. "The Irish Catholic University" on Stephen's Green, founded with the express approval of the Holy See, and placed under the exclusive control of the local episcopate, "with Bishops at the head and tail of it," as Father Burke admirably observed the other day, has during that period dispensed to those who came to seek it—they have not been very many certainly—all those intellectual, moral, and religious advantages which no English University can supply. It was started, moreover, under the auspices of one of the ablest and most experienced masters of University education living, though he very soon found it necessary to escape from an atmosphere far too stifling for such minds as his. And now, after a twenty years' course, untrammelled by any sort of interference from without, what is the verdict pronounced upon it, not by Protestant or unfriendly critics, but by its own orthodox *alumni*, past and present, clerical and lay, who are only desirous of promoting its efficiency? They have just addressed Cardinal Cullen in an elaborate Memorial, which begins by roundly declaring that the defects in the system of the University are such as to endanger its existence, and that they feel it a solemn duty to raise their voices in the hope of rescuing it from its present unhappy condition. They dwell especially on the almost total neglect of scientific teaching, "which has afforded a very plausible argument to those who never tire of repeating that the Catholic Church is the enemy of science," and they quote a statement to this effect from a studiously temperate writer in the *Fortnightly Review*. This popular account of the normal attitude of the Catholic Church towards science, they add, "is of course a sneer; but we are sorry to say it is a sneer with a sufficient gilding of truth to give it currency." Irish Catholics are, beyond doubt, "miserably deficient in scientific education," and the deficiency "is extremely galling to us." It involves at once commercial loss and social and intellectual degradation. The one scientific man of eminence on the University staff, Professor Sullivan (a nominee of Dr. Newman's), has migrated to Queen's College, Cork, and no one can be found to take his place. The lecture list does not include the name of a single professor of the physical sciences, which have not only become the chief studies of the age, but have furnished infidel writers with the weapons of their fiercest attacks on revealed truth. "But the truths of science prove the truths of Scripture, and it is the duty of the Catholic University to impress this fact upon the students in a practical manner." Dr. Newman, we think, has urged very much the same plea in his Lectures on University Education. The Memorialists go on to say that, if scientific training is unattainable in their own University, Irish Catholics will seek it elsewhere; and they refer to the significant fact that "for twenty years a Catholic University has been before the world as an educational institution, and during that period not a single graduate of it has been appointed to any position whatever in the Faculty of philosophy and arts, or of science." What seems still stranger is the absence of theological instruction from the curriculum; and here the Memorial refers with telling effect to Dr. Newman's masterly argument on the relation of theology to the

other sciences, in his lectures delivered at the opening of this very University; indeed it was mainly on that argument that he based the necessity of a Denominational, as opposed to a mixed, system of academical education. Yet it appears that in this strictly Catholic institution what he considered the keystone of the arch has been deliberately dropped out. The Memorial closes with a complaint that for some reason the publication of the University Calendar has been discontinued, which "has not unnaturally been construed into an admission that the Catholic University had no work and no results to show." This document was sent in a few days before the public "Commencement," at which Cardinal Cullen and most of the hierarchy were present, on December 2; but we vainly look for any reference to it or to the subject it discusses in the facile rhetoric of the speeches reported on that occasion. Nor is the subsequent transference of the Professor of Moral Theology at Maynooth to a chair of Natural Philosophy at Dublin likely to be accepted by the Memorialists as a satisfactory recognition of their demands.

We shall certainly not follow the example of an ingenious contemporary in making this Memorial the text of a discussion on the incompatibility of science and Catholicism, and on the assumed fact that the signatories, though they do not choose to avow it, have "discovered" that their religion is false. Sceptical writers have before now pressed scientific objections against every form of Christianity, and an uneasy distrust of the study of physical science is by no means confined to the ministers or members of any one communion. The lecture delivered the other day by Lord Carnarvon is little else from beginning to end but an elaborate exposition of this sentiment. Such reasoners would of course maintain that their opposition was not to scientific training, but to its abuse, and would argue with great plausibility—very much as the late Sir W. Hamilton was never tired of arguing about the Cambridge mathematical course—that an exclusive devotion to the physical sciences has a direct tendency to narrow and warp the intellect and disincite it to the reception of any other kind of truth. And there is a good deal to be said for such a view. The story of the Senior Wrangler who complained that *Paradise Lost* proved nothing is at least *ben trovato*. The Autobiography of Mr. Mill does not supply a favourable comment on the effects of a purely scientific method of education. But, after all due allowance has been made for such considerations—and we are far from saying that no weight attaches to them—it remains true that, as the Memorialists insist, the physical sciences have become the chief studies of the age, and for that reason, if for no other, cannot with impunity be omitted from any professed scheme of University education. It is equally true that these same studies have furnished sceptical writers with their most effective weapons of attack, and on that ground alone they have a further and special claim on the attention of those who aspire to direct the higher Christian education of the day. There is therefore something very ominous in the systematic neglect of the whole subject, whether springing from dislike or incompetence, in the educational system of the Irish Catholic University, and it can hardly tend to inspire confidence in any University scheme originated under similar auspices in this country. English Roman Catholics may perhaps find melancholy satisfaction in the assurance that, after all, no such scheme is held to be feasible at present. Mgr. Capel's proposed establishment at Kensington may or may not have its value as another feeder to the London University, but it cannot even profess, like the institution on Stephen's Green, to be a University itself, and we shall be much surprised if Roman Catholic parents are prepared to accept it as a substitute for Oxford.

MR. LOWE AND THE POLICE.

MR. LOWE, in his speech at the Fishmongers' dinner on Thursday, made some timely and reasonable observations in regard to the Metropolitan Police. He pointed out, as we have done repeatedly, that there are only some eight thousand constables for the protection of the metropolis, and that twice this number would be insufficient if the police were not assisted by the confidence and support of the public. The Home Secretary draws perhaps rather too rosy a picture of the order and security enjoyed by this great city; but there can be no doubt that, on the whole, the police have, for so small a body, done their work tolerably well, and the reason of this is that they have possessed the confidence of the public and have known that they had the great body of respectable and well-conducted citizens at their back. It is only, as Mr. Lowe says, by maintaining the confidence of the people in the police that so small a force can be made to answer its purpose, and whatever tends to diminish this confidence at the same time tends to diminish public security. All this is very true, and it is important that it should be remembered; but Mr. Lowe was not quite so clear as he might have been as to the means by which the good relations between the police and the public are to be maintained. He is very anxious that the police should not be disheartened, but he can hardly have meant to say that the proper way to do this is to hush up all charges against them. Indeed he has himself reversed the policy of the Commissioner on this point, and has ordered a number of prosecutions in order that the truth of various charges may be ascertained. The wisdom of this course has already been demonstrated. The result of the inquiry into the case of the constables who were concerned in arresting Mr. Belt shows that an investigation was required in justice to the police quite as much

as in justice to Mr. Belt. If Colonel Henderson had been allowed to have his own way, the police would have remained under the imputation of having made a false charge and supported it by perjury. The public of course knew nothing of the case except from the proceedings before the magistrate; and the evidence which was first produced left an impression decidedly unfavourable to the police. A second inquiry has relieved them from reproach. Sir T. Henry, imitating the verdict in a recent libel case, has found both parties innocent. It has been shown that Mr. Belt was undoubtedly sober at the time he was arrested; but he is a person of excitable temperament and eccentric manners, and his demeanour to some extent justified the suspicions of the police. The public is naturally more interested in the character of the police than in the character of Mr. Belt, and the result of the inquiry may be regarded as satisfactory. It is impossible altogether to prevent mistakes in cases of this kind, but a mistake is a very different thing from a deliberate conspiracy to swear a false charge. The weak part of the case of the police is undoubtedly the manner in which the charge was received at the station. It does not appear that a moment's consideration was given to it, or that any attempt was made by the superior officers to form an independent judgment as to Mr. Belt's condition. The constable who brought him had charged him with being drunk, and that was enough. The sergeant and the inspector at once took the drunkenness for granted. Sir T. Henry remarked that the sergeant should have inquired calmly whether the charge was really made out or not; and there can be no doubt that this ought to be the rule at every police station. Mistakes cannot be prevented, but it is of great importance that they should not be carried too far; and every charge should be carefully tested at the time it is made.

It may be presumed that the course which has been taken in this instance will henceforth be followed in all similar cases. The demand for inquiry has been hastily construed as an expression of hostility to the police; but it is the police who have the greatest interest in having an opportunity of clearing themselves from imputations on their honesty. It would have been very unfair to the constables who have just been exonerated at Bow Street if the matter had been left as it stood when the magistrate dismissed the charge against Mr. Belt, and it would also have been unfair to the force at large. If the police are in the right, they have nothing to conceal, and should be anxious for the fullest investigation. It is inevitable that in a large body of this kind there must be a certain proportion of black sheep, and it is for the advantage of the whole force that every means should be taken of detecting and expelling these black sheep, and also of enabling the respectable members of the force to clear themselves from any suspicions that may fall upon them. Unfortunately, however, the police seem to be possessed by the idea that they are bound to stand or fall together, and that a charge against any constable is an attack upon the whole body, and that even to inquire into a charge is an outrage on the honour of the corps. This is evidently the notion which prevails at headquarters, and it is not surprising that it should have gradually permeated through the rank and file. The constables have letters and numbers placed on the collars of their coats in order that they may be easily identified; but to take a constable's number has come to be regarded as an insult which must be resisted or punished. In several recent cases whenever this has been attempted the police appear to have lost all control over themselves. Looking over the General Orders and Regulations of the Police we find that even as far back as 1830 complaints had been made that many of the constables wore their capes in such a manner as to conceal the number and letter of their division; and superintendents and inspectors were therefore directed to be particular in observing that the numbers were visible when the men were marched off for duty. In another order of about the same date the police were informed that their interests and safety were best consulted by a check being given to unnecessary and vexatious prosecutions. It might be well that these orders should be distinctly repeated. The whole of the arrangements for taking charges, and generally for maintaining the discipline of the force, also requires revision. It is impossible not to see that there is a want of superior officers. The rank and file are recruited from all classes of the labouring population. They are able to read and write, but the education of most of them does not go much further; and if they are honest and attentive to their routine duties, that is about as much as can be hoped for. Mr. Lowe says very truly that it is absurd to suppose that we are to have accomplished lawyers, finished gentlemen, men of infinite tact and intelligence, and of fine medical diagnosis, for 25s. a week. It is certainly not to be expected that ordinary policemen should exhibit a high degree of intelligence and discretion. But a larger number of superior officers would help to supply this deficiency.

Setting aside the men employed in the Dockyards and various Government and private establishments, there are 22 Superintendents, 226 Inspectors, 903 Sergeants, and 7,997 constables for ordinary duty in the metropolis. The Sergeants may almost be reckoned with the rank and file; the Inspectors correspond to the colour-sergeants of the army, and the Superintendents to regimental sergeant-majors. At the head of the force are the Commissioner and two Assistant Commissioners, and between them and the Superintendents of divisions there are four District Superintendents, who may be regarded as holding the rank of colonel. In a division of the army there would probably be at least three hundred officers above the rank of sergeant-major. In the police, which is numerically as strong as a military division, and which stands even more in need of intelligent command,

there are only four, or, counting the Assistant Commissioners, six, officers between the Commissioner and the Superintendents. We have no desire to say anything in disparagement of the present Superintendents and Inspectors, many of whom are men of fair education and capacity; but we certainly think that the position of a police Superintendent should be raised in rank and emolument, so as to secure a superior class of men; that his authority should be extended; and that there should be a larger number of such officers. In a similar way the office of Inspector should also be improved. At present there is too wide a gap between the chief authorities at Scotland Yard and the Superintendents. Too many questions have to be referred to headquarters because they cannot be safely left to the discretion of the local officers. There is probably work for four District Superintendents; but what is above all wanted is a larger number of Superintendents and Inspectors, with a better scale of pay and higher qualifications than at present. In this way a large amount of intelligent direction would be introduced into the force. The constables would be placed under careful supervision, and all questions of difficulty would be promptly decided by officers who could take a wider and clearer view of them than an ordinary policeman. There are many cases of doubt in which a constable is bound to take persons into custody; at the station, however, there should be a calm and careful inquiry into every charge, and it should be seriously considered whether it should be sent before a magistrate. The Inspector before whom the charge is laid should examine it in a judicial spirit, and he should be a man capable of exercising his judgment upon it. All charges taken by an Inspector should afterwards be reviewed by the Superintendent. It appeared in Mr. Belt's case that the sergeant who took the charge as acting Inspector had tried to pass as an Inspector, but had failed in the education examination, which is by no means severe. It is obvious that a man of this kind should not be placed in so responsible a position. It is urged on behalf of the police that it is often very difficult to distinguish between drunkenness and nervous excitement or sickness, but it might therefore be expected that great caution would be exercised in coming to a conclusion on such a subject. It appears, however, that a theory of drunkenness hastily adopted by a constable is endorsed as a matter of course by his comrades and officers. Colonel Henderson, in his latest report, states that, "as a matter of humanity and precaution, medical aid is called in in every case in which there is the slightest doubt," but it was shown at Bow Street that there is a rule that medical advice shall be taken only in cases of insensibility. We agree with Sir T. Henry that this rule ought to be altered.

It is obvious that the power of the police depends rather on moral than on physical force. It is the strength of *prestige*, and *prestige* is only another name for character. It is important therefore that every means should be taken of placing the conduct of the police beyond suspicion; and this can be done only by sifting charges carefully before they are sent before the magistrates, by cautioning constables to be very particular as to their evidence, and by putting on trial any constable against whom serious imputations have been made, so that, if unfounded, they may be publicly answered. If this were done the police would be entitled to the support of the public; and it is necessary that they should know they have their support. It is of course desirable that the police should observe a happy medium in their zeal; but it might almost be better that they should do too much than that they should do too little. Nothing could be more unfortunate than that they should be frightened by clamour from discharging their duties in a vigorous manner. The sort of work they have to do must often be rough work, and cannot be done with kid gloves or the civilities of the dancing academy. Trivial complaints against the police should be discouraged, and great allowance should be made for occasional infirmities of temper and errors of judgment. The public must take a common-sense view of the matter, and remember what sort of men the police are, and the delicate and difficult functions they have often to perform. The whole subject of the organization of the police demands careful consideration. It can hardly be said that eight thousand constables—of whom only a third are on duty during the day, and two-thirds at night—are enough for patrolling and watching an area of seven hundred square miles, including nearly seven thousand miles of streets. But if the numbers of the force are not to be increased, an attempt should at least be made to improve its quality. The force should be officered in a superior manner, and the discontent of the men at the mismanagement of the superannuation system should be appeased by a liberal arrangement. The Metropolitan police area might with advantage be reduced, and the duties simplified. It is also evident that a larger degree of legal knowledge and capacity is indispensable at headquarters. The changes which we have suggested will of course cost money, but the protection of life, order, and property is surely worth paying for.

LEICESTER SQUARE.

THE history of Leicester Square is written in the Law Reports. There has been repeated litigation on the question of liability to maintain the "ornamental" character of the enclosure, and it was probably under a sense of legal duty that the statue which the owner of the land is bound to "continue and keep in the same position" was lately adorned with dabs of paint. In the year 1865,

this enclosure being in a neglected and dilapidated state, the Metropolitan Board of Works conceived the idea of "taking charge" of it, and they put up a notice on the spot to that effect. The owner of the land hereupon brought an action of trespass against them and obtained judgment. It appears from the statement of this case that in 1786 two families, whom we will call for shortness Tulk and Perry, were owners in common of the lands and houses forming Leicester Square. The land was formerly what is called Lammas land, belonging to the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields; and the Earl of Leicester, whose house stood at the north-east corner of the square, paid yearly to the parish officers of St. Martin's a rent for the Lammas of the ground occupied by his house, garden, and field. A partition under decree of Chancery was made between Tulk and Perry; the houses on the north side of the square being allotted to the latter, and the houses on the other three sides with the garden being allotted to the former. The Commissioners who made this allotment certified that the lessees of houses on the north side should continue to pay to Tulk the sums reserved in their leases towards keeping up the garden, and that Tulk should for ever keep and maintain the garden in its then state as a pleasure-ground. A decree was made in pursuance of this certificate, and mutual conveyances were executed between Tulk and Perry, but there was no covenant on the part of Tulk to keep up the garden. The last of the leases which contained covenants in reference to the garden expired in 1847. A further partition took place in 1807, by which Tulk the father and Tulk the son divided between them the share which had been allotted to Tulk, and the son covenanted with the father to keep the garden in its then state and in good repair. The son afterwards conveyed the garden to a purchaser who covenanted to keep the garden in its then state, and that it should be lawful for the Tulks and their tenants inhabitants of the square, on payment of a reasonable sum, to have keys and admission at all times to the garden. In 1848 Moxhay, who had purchased the garden, was proceeding to cut down the trees, remove the railings, and build upon the land, when Tulk filed a bill in Chancery to restrain him from committing any such acts of waste, and particularly from taking down the statue. Moxhay, by his Answer, stated that a thoroughfare had been made through the Square by Act of Parliament, which greatly altered its character as a place of residence, that the piece of ground had long been in a ruinous and dilapidated condition, and had ceased to be used as a pleasure-ground, and that he intended to make two footpaths diagonally across the Square, and he claimed to exercise such rights over the land as he might think fit. In the elegant language of Moxhay's Answer, "this garden had become a disgrace and reproach to the neighbourhood, and boys broke in," and, said the Master of the Rolls, "I do not know what they did there." For a long series of years, said that learned judge, nobody would give a farthing to go into this garden, and they would be very anxious to avail themselves of the right to stop out of it. The defendant insisted that he need not keep the garden in a neat and ornamental style unless he pleased. But, said the Master of the Rolls, he cannot leave it in that foul and disgraceful state which he maintains he has a right to leave it in if he pleases. He was making two walks across the Square, and intended to have gates at the entrance. The learned judge believed that if he made these walks across the Square he could hardly make a greater nuisance of the place than it was already. "Consider what they will be at night." The defendant also insisted upon his right to remove the statue, which is an ornament there, and to build as high as he pleased on the land. An injunction prevented these projects of Moxhay being carried out, and soon after another and more celebrated improver appeared in Wyld, who bought the garden from Moxhay, and entered into an agreement with Tulk which enabled him to erect and maintain during ten years his Great Globe or Model of the World. This building stood from 1851 to 1861, and after it was removed Tulk purchased back the garden, and in his hands it reverted to its former state of desolation. Then came upon the scene the Metropolitan Board of Works, but they were driven off by Tulk, who defeated them in the Court of Queen's Bench, and again in the Exchequer Chamber. Lately Tulk has conceived the idea of making profit from the garden by erecting a hoarding round it, upon which advertisements are displayed. We should have thought that placards were less hideous than the squalid ground which they conceal, but the owner of houses at the north-east corner of the square considers that the amenity of his property would be increased by taking away the hoarding, and disclosing to view the garden. Accordingly Webb, the owner, has filed a bill in Chancery against Tulk to compel him to keep this garden and the iron railing round it in sufficient and proper repair as a square, garden, or pleasure-ground, and a decree has been made accordingly, so that before long we shall once more enjoy a view of the interior of this garden and of what remains, if anything, of the statue.

Formerly Leicester Field was a convenient place for duels. Thackeray has described in *Emond* how Lord Mohun and Lord Castlewood, with their respective friends, went to the Duke's playhouse and saw Mrs. Bracegirdle in *Love in a Wood*, then to the "Greyhound" in Charing Cross to sup, where the two lords quarrelled, according to previous arrangement, and it was agreed to take chairs and go to Leicester Field. Colonel Westbury, second to Lord Castlewood, asked, with a low bow to my Lord of Warwick and Holland, second to Lord Mohun, whether he should have the honour of exchanging a pass or two

with his lordship. "It is an honour to me," said my Lord of Warwick and Holland, "to be matched with a gentleman who has been at Mons and Namur." Captain Macartney, the second second, if we may so say, of Lord Mohun, asked permission to give a lesson to Harry Esmond, who was then fresh from Cambridge and destined for Holy Orders. Chairs were called, and the word was given for Leicester Field, where the gentlemen were set down opposite the "Standard Tavern." It was midnight, and the town was abed, and only a few lights shone in the windows of the houses, but the night was bright enough for the purpose of the disputants. All six entered the Square, the chairmen standing without the railing and keeping the gate, lest any persons should disturb the meeting. After Harry had been engaged for some two minutes, a cry from the chairmen, who were smoking their pipes, and leaning over the railing as they watched the dim combat within, announced that some catastrophe had occurred. Lord Castlewood had received a mortal wound, and he was carried to the house of Mr. Aimes, surgeon, in Long Acre, where he died. The things that were done at night in Leicester Field formerly would at least bear describing, which is more than can be said of what goes on there now. The land belongs to Tulk, but he cannot build upon it, and his compulsory restoration of its ornamental character is not likely to come to much. The occupiers of houses probably desire a result which can only be produced by voluntary action. It will be the interest of Tulk to make the garden look as disagreeable as he can consistently with obedience to the order of the Court of Chancery, because, if the idea of an ornamental garden were finally abandoned, perhaps Tulk might expect to enjoy the land discharged from the obligation to keep it open and unbuild on. The occupiers of houses may be willing to pay money, but they cannot compel Tulk to receive and expend it. He of course will simply obey the injunction of Chancery. As regards the statue, we are not sure whether anybody has now the right to insist upon the maintenance of what is left of it. After the Tulks, father and son, had divided their property between them, the son sold the garden, and the purchaser covenanted to keep up the statue. But as Tulk has since bought back the garden, there can be no liability on that covenant, and perhaps, but by no means certainly, the statue is at Tulk's mercy. It would be difficult to convince the Court of Chancery that Webb, as owner of a house on the north side of the Square, is entitled to a view of the remains, if there be any, of this statue, as a necessary condition of the enjoyment of the garden as a pleasure-ground. But we shall watch with interest the gradual removal of the boarding.

The householders of Leicester Square have held a meeting to consider this subject, which is to them highly interesting. Although lawyers are the most conservative of men, yet law is gradually influenced by opinion, and it may be that in some way the existing desire to protect open spaces may affect the hitherto insoluble problem of keeping this garden clean and decent. The only right which judges have hitherto recognized in occupiers of houses has been that particularly worthless right to have a key giving admission within the railings of the garden. It is remarkable that even the rights of owners on the north side were altogether overruled during the ten years that Wyld's Globe occupied the garden. As a learned judge said, "Without a complaint of the parties, without the inhabitants or any human being having interfered with it, Wyld was permitted to keep within the Square those buildings with which we are all pretty well acquainted from having seen them with our own eyes for a space of ten years, and during the whole of that time no attempt was made by any inhabitant to put a stop to this interference with what is now supposed to be his rights." The Tulk family agreed among themselves that this should be done, and the Perry family either did not interfere at all or did not interfere successfully. But the hoarding must be removed unless the injunction obtained by Webb can be disturbed, which is unlikely. It may be that the owner of the garden, when it clearly appears that he cannot make money out of it, may be willing to allow it to be made—we will not say ornamental, but as little of an eyesore as possible.

REVIEWS.

LEWES'S PROBLEMS OF LIFE AND MIND.*

IT is easy to foresee that there will be a disposition on the part of the public to treat this book in the light of a recantation. Mr. Lewes wrote the *History of Philosophy* from the point of view that "metaphysics were bosh," or, in graver language, that philosophy was an expenditure of the precious energy of the human mind on insoluble problems. Though this *History* was written thirty years ago, not only has Mr. Lewes not withdrawn it, but he has in successive editions rather emphasized than weakened the thesis upon which it was composed. The book has been one of the most popular on the subject, and most deservedly, owing to the consummate literary skill displayed in presenting a picture of each writer's personality in connexion with his system. But its wide circulation must have tended to diffuse among younger readers the doctrine of the historian as to the nullity of the pursuit of which he had constituted himself the chronicler. Indeed Mr. Lewes's voice

was only one among many in preaching this creed. It may be said to have been the prevailing, and all but universal, belief of the last thirty years that metaphysics were now at last exploded. It was not Mr. Lewes's *History*, not Comte, nor any one thinker or book, which can be pointed to as the author of this scepticism; it was the thought of the age. It belonged to no one more than another, it was in the air, epidemic, and influenced the reasoning of those even who argued against it. Nor was it a casual fashion, a passing wave of thought to be superseded in its turn by another; it offered itself as the latest birth of time, the outcome of all our past. Twenty centuries of speculation without progress had landed us in the inevitable conclusion that all speculation was a mistake. Science had always been the rival of philosophy; as science had waxed, philosophy had waned. The general cultivated mind rejected metaphysics from impatience at its no-result. The scientific mind began to repudiate it because of its faulty method. Nothing has yet been reached by way of philosophy, says the historian. Nothing can be reached by the *à priori* method, cries the man of science. They, the men of science, went on to declare that all the questions hitherto called philosophical related to mysteries beyond human ken. This magisterial declaration became a dogma, and is perhaps the received faith of thinking Englishmen in general. Against this prevailing belief Mr. Lewes comes forward in his *Problems of Life and Mind* to protest. Nor will he only protest; he will show that the belief is false, and that philosophical problems may be rationally dealt with, and even rationally solved. His pages are intended to show that these problems may be presented in a soluble shape, and affiliated to all the other soluble problems.

The inconsistency between the new theory and the theories of the *History of Philosophy* is patent. It is a very vulgar form of personality which in literature would throw up against any thinker change of view as a weakness, in the same way as politicians make capital out of an opponent's change of party. But in the case of Mr. Lewes any such objection would not only be inadmissible as a personality, it would be an error. For Mr. Lewes's shifting of ground in his present work is not a recantation of error, it is a growth of thought. His present view differs from his previous view because it is developed out of it. He proposes to reinstate metaphysics as a legitimate field of thought. But he proposes to rehabilitate it for the very reason for which he formerly proscribed it. A few words will explain how this can be.

Mr. Lewes brings forward the fact that, notwithstanding the excommunication which has been laid on metaphysics by the reigning system of thought, the tendency towards speculation is not extirpated. Contempt, ridicule, argument—all is in vain. Ours is no longer the age described by Mr. Carlyle as "destitute of faith, yet terrified at scepticism." We have lost our terror, and accepted scepticism, but only as provisional. We understand it now, not as a resting-place, but as a starting-point. The last generation persuaded itself that its curiosity after the "Unknown" was extinct. It changed the label to "the Unknowable," and put it away out of sight. Curiosity is awake again; it is irrepressible. Even great captains of science are seen ever and anon to cast lingering glances at those dark avenues of forbidden research, and are stung by secret misgivings lest, after all, those avenues should not be useless, but may some day open upon a grander plain.

This change in the tone of thinking is most remarkable, and has often been observed. But it is not merely because the general current of thought has been changed that Mr. Lewes has changed. He is not a man likely to be swept with the stream, and is too independent to be under the necessity of thinking as other people are thinking. It is the gradual course of his own studies which has led him forward to the conviction that the region called metaphysical is not only not barren, but is not, as had been ruled, inaccessible. He finds, and every scientific inquirer has found, that when physical generalization has been carried as far as it can go, it lands him in conceptions which have usually been called metaphysical, but by which are meant the highest generalizations of research. Bacon's scheme represented philosophy as a pyramid, having natural history for its basis, physics for its middle stage, and metaphysics, or formal and final causes, for its apex. For Bacon's formal and final causes substitute the conceptions Matter, Motion, Force, Cause, &c., and you have a province of inquiry which Mr. Lewes proposes to bring within the boundary of legitimate science. For metaphysics has been justly exploded not because its matter was unimportant, but because its method was incapable. It was not because the questions raised by metaphysics were not desirable to be answered that they have been laid on one side, but because the mode in which they were attempted to be answered could lead to no truth. If conceptions called metaphysical can be reached through logical extensions of experience, and if we can not only rise to metaphysics through science, but never forsake the method of science in treating such questions, they would then enter into science and form a rational branch of it. Mr. Lewes would divide metaphysics thus into two parts, and, while still leaving outside the "transcendent" element which is beyond experience, and therefore unknowable, would bring within the domain of science all those abstract conceptions which science employs, but does not analyse. All the metaphysical ideas, he thinks, such as Matter, Force, Cause, Law, Soul, &c., contain both elements—the elements speculatively knowable, and the elements that lie beyond all reduction to experience. For these latter elements Mr. Lewes proposes the name *metempirical*, to contrast and distinguish them from the province which he includes within the range of science. The province so included within the range of

* *Problems of Life and Mind*. By George Henry Lewes. First Series. The Foundations of a Creed. Vol. I. London: Trübner & Co. 1874.

science, and usually treated as speculative or metaphysical, is now to be cultivated on the method of science, to accept all the tests and conditions of science, and to keep within the range of experience.

Having thrown down this challenge to scientific men, and undertaken to prove against them the possibility of a scientific metaphysic, Mr. Lewes goes on to show why this metaphysic should be constituted a separate branch of science, and not, in conformity with Comte's classification, distributed among the sciences from which its data are drawn. This separate treatment of metaphysics Mr. Lewes justifies on the general ground of the easier appreciation of abstract ideas when we regard them detached from their concrete. We know, and must carefully remember, that such detachment is a fiction; but it is convenient for the purpose of reasoning on them to regard these ideas as separable from their concrete manifestations. The mathematician, *e.g.* detaches extension from matter, and motion from solidity, though perfectly aware that pure extension and pure motion are impossible things. All such abstract conceptions must have been framed from and express actual relations of things, must be reducible to sense, and be capable at all times of verification by sense. There is an order in things on which the order in thoughts depends. But the dependence is particular. Now it is only the general order in things with which philosophy is concerned, and which is expressed in laws. Philosophy seeks conceptions which represent the order in things, not at one instant and under particular conditions, but at all times and under varying conditions.

A science then of metaphysics is possible and desirable. Thus far we get in the present volume. This volume, which is only Vol. I. of the work, does not enter methodically upon the construction of the promised science. We have only general prolegomena, as they may be considered, to such a system of metaphysics. This preliminary portion, though, as the author seems to admit, of somewhat heterogeneous composition, comprises separate discussions of great interest. In a section of about ninety pages, headed "Psychological Principles," we have a programme set down dogmatically—that is, without, for the present, proof or illustration—of the psychology which Mr. Lewes assumes as the basis of his metaphysics. This programme embodies at once the results of previous psychologists, as well as those arrived at by Mr. Lewes's independent researches. The peculiarity of this psychology is that it is based upon a combination of the biological and sociological data. The organism and its medium must be studied together. Man apart from society is simply an animal organism. Restore to him his position as a social unit, and the problem changes. The soul of man has a double root, a double history. It passes out of the range of animal life, and no explanation of mental phenomena can be valid which does not allow for this extension of range. It is now universally admitted that the old method of studying mental phenomena in the cabinet of the metaphysician, by the aid of so-called consciousness, was unscientific. Mr. Lewes wishes to enforce the truth that the method is equally incomplete which seeks the explanation of intellectual and moral processes in the laboratory of the physiologist. The human intelligence Mr. Lewes affirms to be superior to, and distinct from, the animal intelligence. The difference is not one of degree. It is one of kind, and its root lies in the social medium in which man exists, and in which the animal does not exist. This social organism is a real agent, which explains all that difference between man and animals which used to be explained by the old spiritualist hypothesis. Man's individual functions arise in relation to the cosmical medium in which he finds himself. His general functions arise in relation to the social medium in which he equally finds himself. Here the moral life emerges, and the animal impulses become blended with the human motives. This social medium exists as a fact. How it originated Mr. Lewes does not discuss. Not, it appears, in any psychical difference between man and the lower animals, of which difference the social organism is itself the cause.

The remainder of the book is occupied by a variety of discussions of a somewhat heterogeneous character, brought together under the common title of the "Limitations of Knowledge." The "Principle of Relativity," the "Sensational and *a-priori* Hypotheses Compared," the "Reality of Abstraction," "On Ideal Construction in Metaphysics," are suggestive and pregnant discussions, in which worn themes surprise us by becoming new and interesting. It is characteristic of Mr. Lewes's handling of such topics that he is perpetually trying to realize the objects of which he is writing, and that he thus never falls into the dry, scholastic, technical style of less realistic thinkers. Some readers may perhaps object that he, like Mr. Herbert Spencer, is too fond of employing technical terms where a common word would have done as well, and where Mr. Mill would have used the common word. Mr. Lewes has not, indeed, that peculiar gift of making philosophical questions intelligible to the uninitiated, which places Mill by the side of Hume among the masters of the style which is simple without being superficial. Mr. Lewes writes for the public also, and not for the experts; but it is for that section of the public—a tolerably large one now—which has some training in abstract questions. Without some training in these inquiries, hardly any one would sit down to read through *Problems of Life and Mind*. But the varied nature of the discussions comprised in this volume leads Mr. Lewes to touch upon so many topics of general interest that even those who do not care to make out his system as a whole will find some point of contact with him, something thrown out which looks their way. Nor can it be foreseen

where such attractive passages will occur. In the middle of the chapter "On Ideal Construction in Science," *e.g.* emerges a paragraph on moral types in which that question of ethics is considered—the objection, namely, against the conception of duty, that it is an unreal standard, an unattainable perfection. The mind of the reader receives a peculiar sensation of pleasure from the light thrown upon a moral question by its simple juxtaposition with a question of the metaphysic of mathematics, and the unexpected relation which is disclosed between the two.

While this varied, and what we may call unexpected, character of the contents of Mr. Lewes's book carries on the reader with ever fresh interest through its pages, we may perhaps save others from the slight shade of disappointment which came over ourselves on finding that the scientific treatment of metaphysics, or ontology, which we were promised and prepared for in the opening pages, is not to be met with in the after part of the volume. Here and there, it is true, metaphysical topics are touched upon incidentally; *e.g.* on the question of the existence of the external world, Mr. Lewes takes an occasion to state his own view, and even to reason it out, or at least to reason against the rival theories. His view he calls Reasoned Realism. He considers that the reality of a not-self is proved by consciousness—that it is a fact of feeling to be accepted as ultimate. We know that an external not-self exists with the same assurance with which we know an internal self to exist; and, further, we know the manner in which these two are combined in feeling and thought. The Ding-an-sich, or Noumenon, is a phantasm of the metaphysicians, which has no existence, and must be banished from the sphere of knowledge. The external world, when reflected in a sentence which has not acquired shaping reactions, is a confused chaos without order. But, as the sentient organism develops, order emerges. This order is not, as Kant made it, the creation of the organism stamped upon the chaos; but an order selected from the larger order of the real by the assimilating power, or shaping reaction, of the organism. As feeling becomes differentiated, qualities arise in the felt. Reasoned realism is thus a sort of compromise between the realist and idealist theories. The organism may be said to colour objects; but the organism itself, or at least the mode of its action, is a product originally due to the action of objects.

This is an example of a metaphysical question being started; but it is so only in connexion with the "principles of psychology." Of ontological speculation, properly so called, there is hardly any in the whole volume. Its chapters are, in part, psychological; but by far the greater part of the discussions in the part entitled the "Limitations of Knowledge" are logical in their character. It is not obvious how Mr. Lewes reconciles the character of his volume with the opening sections in which the large and tempting promise is held out to us that we shall now for the first time be presented with a science of metaphysics based upon experience, and reasoned out on the strict method of the other inductive sciences. The fulfilment of this programme is probably reserved for the volumes still to come.

THE FRIENDSHIP OF BOOKS.*

THIS book consists of certain lectures delivered by Mr. Maurice at different times to various popular institutions. It is introduced to the world by Mr. Thomas Hughes, and we are a little amused by the relation between the prophet and his disciple. As we read Mr. Hughes's pugnacious preface to the wise and kindly lectures which follow, we seem to be listening to a converted prize-fighter introducing a Christian missionary. My revered friend is going to give you some excellent advice, Mr. Hughes appears to be saying, and if any one is not ready to receive it in a corresponding spirit of brotherly love, he had better take off his coat at once and have a round or two with me. Accordingly, just by way of showing his muscle, Mr. Hughes opens the proceedings by knocking down some half-dozen imaginary antagonists. He disposes in a few pages of Mr. Matthew Arnold; raps the knuckles of the Positivists and Mr. Morley; gives a blow in passing to Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, and playfully trips up Mr. Mill's heels in conclusion. Having thus made things pleasant, he allows Mr. Maurice to come forward and discourse according to his nature. As there is not a word in Mr. Maurice's lectures which could be offensive to any body of any shade of opinion, and as there is an entire absence of controversial writing, this little outbreak seems to be slightly unnecessary. There is only one of Mr. Hughes's remarks with which we need trouble ourselves. Mr. Hughes mentions the singular circumstance that nearly all persons who have valued Maurice's writings have agreed in accusing him of mysticism and want of clearness. Mr. Hughes assures us that this is an entire misconception. He is surely taking a rather untenable position. Unless he means to impute insincerity to these critics, he must take their word for it that they cannot understand Mr. Maurice. This, no doubt, may simply prove their stupidity, and give Mr. Hughes some cause for complacency in the superior lucidity of his own intellect, which has enabled him to see what is hidden from Mr. Arnold, Mr. Stephen, and Mr. Mill. But if Mr. Hughes would condescend to point out, the cause of this difficulty of apprehension, and explain why the writer who has "scattered more mists than all his contemporaries put together" is generally considered to be a singularly misty writer, we should be very much obliged to him. The gentlemen we have named differ from Dr. Newman more widely than they differ from

* *The Friendship of Books, and Other Lectures.* By the Rev. F. D. Maurice. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

Mr. Maurice; but none of them ever called Dr. Newman misty. Is it from sheer perversity that they have agreed to give Mr. Maurice an utterly inappropriate nickname; or can there be any foundation for their opinions?

Whilst waiting for Mr. Hughes's answer, we shall venture to give a partial answer of our own. We have no thought of discussing Mr. Maurice's general principles. These lectures take him fortunately into purely literary ground, where we can observe the character of his mind apart from any of his religious dogmas. And, if we are not mistaken, he shows very plainly why men of clear intellect have a certain difficulty in following him. There is indeed very little obscurity in these lectures, though there are some touches of the author's peculiar mysticism. They deal for the most part with popular subjects; with the uses of books and newspapers; with the right methods of studying history; with Milton, Spenser, and Burke, and with modern criticism. They are full of really profound sayings, and are animated throughout by a kindness which always endeavours to look at the best side of men and things, and to recognize the soul of good in things evil. Nobody combines a wider toleration with a more ardent admiration of goodness, purity, and justice. It is a favourite doctrine of Mr. Maurice that we do not understand a book till we know the man as well as the author. Applying that doctrine to his own case, we may say that nobody could read these lectures without feeling the better for association with a man of so singularly attractive a character. Mr. Maurice shows himself in these writings as distinctly as in his more elaborate works; and whenever we think of his personality, and put aside his opinions, we feel the singular charm which he undoubtedly possessed. There is, however, still a sense of something wanting; and we think that the secret is partly revealed to us here. If Mr. Maurice ever loses his usual amiability, it is in speaking of Utilitarians. Doubtless he did not hate even Bentham; but he had some trouble in seeing that a Bentham could be of any use except in the part of drunken Helot. One reason is, perhaps, that Mr. Maurice was very ill-fitted to recognize the special merit of the Utilitarian school. It is their claim—we need not inquire how far it is well founded—to have established a definite criterion for the settlement of moral questions. They provided a distinct external test by which all actions could be judged; whereas the intuitive school of moralists, appealing to their own internal sense as conclusive, seemed to be really setting up an arbitrary standard. Now the weak part of Mr. Maurice's lectures is mainly the want of any such definite standard, whether in historical or critical questions. His intellect is so strangely ingenious that his theories always seem to be unduly plastic. They are capable of changing and shifting as rapidly as Hamlet's cloud; and we find it almost impossible to pin him down to any distinct canons of proof. A very characteristic essay is the last in the present volume, in which he attempts to define the functions of critics. It may be described as an expansion of Pope's lines in the *Essay on Criticism*:—

A perfect judge will read each work of wit
With the same spirit that its author writ:
Survey the whole, nor seek slight faults to find;
Where nature moves, and rapture warms the mind;
Nor lose for that malignant, dull delight,
The generous pleasure to be charmed with wit.

These lines occur in a poem which lays down a great many definite rules. Some of them are crude and barren enough; but Pope is quite right in asserting at once that a critic should be generous in his appreciation of the writer, and that he should be bound by certain distinct canons. Mr. Maurice, on the other hand, explains with great force and fulness the duty of being sympathetic and appreciative, but is quite unable to lay down any rules whatever. He begins by referring to the audacious criticisms of the *Edinburgh Review* in its infancy. He tells us that the young reviewers set up, according to their well-known motto, to be judges, and he urges that we should not begin by placing ourselves on the bench and laying down the law, but by endeavouring to enter into the spirit of the person at the bar. The critic, he says, may be a long time before he finds himself able to pass a judgment, and perhaps after a long consideration he may find himself less able than he was at first. For want of this reflection many rash and erroneous judgments have been pronounced. "Is there, then," he asks, "to be no criticism in style? Is there no such thing as style?" Yes, he replies, there is a great difference in styles; the style of Milton, for example, differs from the style of Burke; but each is the natural expression of the mind of a genuine and noble man. That is doubtless true, but it does not quite answer the real question; which should not be, Is there no such thing as style, but is there no such thing as a good or a bad style? Mr. Maurice comes to this question, but he does not quite answer it. Rules, he says, would be very useful if they could help us in this matter; but, he adds, "he that wants to be saved from this fault"—the fault of affectation—"will never be saved from it by looking for it in another." By studying good writers he may become conscious of the fault in himself. Surely this is a very lame answer to a very plain question. That you should not be anxious to find faults in another is true enough; that you should be insensible to the faults of others is simply to say that you should confound good and evil; but at any rate the question is whether the knowledge of good and evil, however obtained, is capable of definite statement in distinct though flexible rules, and to that question Mr. Maurice gives no particular answer. He goes on to tell us that we ought to be honest in our poetical tastes, and not to affect a liking which we don't feel; that in historical questions

we may find great value in records which hasty persons have rejected as mere worthless fables; both of which statements again are true enough, but yet signally fail to tell us whether any distinct rules of poetical or historical criticism can be ascertained or expressed. Then again in political criticism, we are not to be mere partisans, condemning all Whigs or all Tories, and we are not to mistake a cynical indifference for judicial impartiality. We are to recognize all the good on every side, and never to confound truth with falsehood. We are to do full justice to men in all times, and to recognize our common humanity whilst making allowances for differences in the standards of different ages. All this is true; much of it is very wise and very well said; but yet it leaves us in complete uncertainty as to whether there be any such things as ascertainable rules for distinguishing between good and bad, truth and falsehood. The general impression left is that we are to trust to our instincts, and that our instincts are to be good. We are to be very generous and sympathetic, and yet radically opposed to evil. As a protest against hasty criticism, and as a description of the right temper of mind, the lecture is admirable; but it does not even tend to clear up the question as to the possibility of creating a science of criticism.

It would be curious, if we had space, to follow out Mr. Maurice's application of his theories to particular cases; and to compare them with the judgments of other good critics who have more definite principles of judging. In one sense Mr. Maurice's criticism is excellent. He does his best to enter into sympathy with Shakspeare, Spenser, Milton, and Burke, and preaches very excellent sermons about them. But we are always haunted by an uncomfortable sense that his want of fixed rules, or, we may almost say, his abhorrence of fixed rules, enables him to see in these writers almost anything that he wishes to see. Sometimes he extracts too much out of a very obvious commonplace. Burke is highly praised for refusing to adopt Bolingbroke's principles. The fact is undeniable; but then we cannot forget that Burke was simply in agreement with all the other respectable writers of the time, and that it wanted no great virtue to repudiate sentiments which were universally condemned. In this case Mr. Maurice is at worst attaching too much importance to a particular sentiment; but sometimes he seems to distort a writer's meaning, as well as to add weight to it. According to M. Taine, Shakspeare was a profoundly immoral writer. According to Mr. Maurice, he was a profound moralist. *Macbeth* could only have been written at a time when men's consciences were struggling under a sense of moral evil; and the design of the historical plays is to show us that each reign may be "considered as an integral portion of a divine drama." In our opinion, each critic exaggerates, though we admit that M. Taine seems to us to have most to say for himself. There is, however, this difference; that M. Taine has at any rate a distinct theory which we can test for ourselves, and that if, as we hold, he often applies his *a priori* method very rashly and erroneously, it suggests some distinct issues. Mr. Maurice, on the other hand, trusting entirely to his instincts, and shrinking excessively from all approach to mechanical methods, really tells us, not what Shakspeare meant, but what Shakspeare's writings suggested to him. It is very interesting to know what Mr. Maurice infers from the story of *Macbeth*; but the knowledge enlightens us very little as to what Shakspeare meant to teach us, if indeed he meant to teach anything, by *Macbeth*. The same method applied in a number of other cases convinces us that Mr. Maurice is a very unsafe guide in such matters, for the simple reason that no man's subjective judgment, however acute may be his sensibility, and however noble his character, gives any satisfactory conclusions when not corrected by some objective test. And, as we might attempt to prove if it were worth the time and space, the same method produces obscurity because it constantly leads to a hopeless confusion between the different theories in each of which Mr. Maurice ingeniously contrives to see a reflection of his own views.

We must add one remark in regard to another matter. We cannot congratulate the editor of the volume on the way in which his minor duties have been discharged. For example, the table of contents omits altogether the *Essay on Critics* which we have noticed. The *Essay on Newspapers*, again, is said to have been delivered "about 1848." From a passage in it speaking of "Mr. Macaulay's" last volumes, we should infer that it was written between 1855, the date of their publication, and 1857, the date of Macaulay's elevation to the peerage. From another passage, however, about the American Civil War, we should infer that it must have been written after 1861. We should like to know which of these dates is accurate; or whether the lecture was rewritten at different periods? The matter is of no great importance, but it has some biographical interest; and if an editor undertakes to give us a date, he should take the trouble to make it reconcilable with obvious facts.

MORLEY'S STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION.*

(Second Notice.)

WE have already endeavoured to show that Mr. Morley's indictment against the existing educational system fails in one essential respect. Even if it be granted that the instruction given is as bad as he describes it, he has not proved that its badness is the result of Denominationalism. To make good his case he ought to have shown either that Denominationalism is the cause of

* *The Struggle for National Education*. By John Morley. London: Chapman & Hall. 1874.

partial and irregular attendance, or that, if prolonged and regular attendance were secured, the Education Department would still be powerless to raise the standard of instruction in Denominational schools. Instead of proving one or other of these points, he has contented himself with asserting that it is of no use to apply compulsion until the character of the instruction has been improved; a statement which avails nothing against those who contend that the result of applying compulsion under the control of a Central Department would infallibly be to improve the instruction up to the highest point which the opinion of the country would accept as practicable.

We shall now carry the war into our opponent's territory, and endeavour to show that the system which Mr. Morley wishes to see put in the place of the existing system would, to say the least, succeed no better. We will frankly admit that Mr. Morley has stated the case in favour of free schools with much force, and, as opposed to Mr. Fawcett's unmeasured condemnation of them, we are inclined to say that he has the best of the argument. In one respect, however, he seems greatly to overrate their influence. "Unless," he says, "instruction is gratuitous, every occasion of bad times, whether local or general, is the signal for the interruption of instruction, and the child misses six months or a year—a loss which can never be replaced. . . . If primary instruction were free, bad times would make no alteration. The child's attendance would continue as regular as before." This would be true, provided that the child's labour were absolutely unsaleable, and that the only thing he now has to take with him to school is the school fee. But the cases in which a child's labour is worth nothing are not very numerous. If he could only bring back sixpence at the week's end, or worked for an occasional meal, he would still be doing something to lighten the family burden; and when times are bad, even the slightest help has its value. Again, a child wants clothes to go to school in. Some one has said that among the very poor education is more than anything else a question of shoe-leather, and certainly decent mothers do not like to see their children going to school in ragged clothes or in boots which have next to no soles to them; yet the first effect of hard times is usually to send the clothes of the family to the pawnshop, if they are good enough to raise money on, and to make the purchase of new ones impossible. Once more, hard times soon reduce the meals of the family, and when the children are crying for the breakfast which the mother is unable to give them, she will think it sheer cruelty to make their hunger keener by superadding to it a cold walk and a morning's schooling. If free schools were at once made universal, the need of a law to compel attendance at school would be just as conspicuous as it is now, and among the difficulties which would have to be surmounted in the application of such a law, the difficulty of providing the school pence is far from being the greatest.

Let us, however, put aside this and other obstacles in the way of free education, and imagine Mr. Morley's scheme introduced as a Government measure. He estimates the total cost of educating 3,000,000 children at 3,750,000*l.* Towards this he suggests that the Consolidated Fund should contribute 2,500,000*l.*, leaving the remaining 1,250,000*l.* to be raised out of local rates. This sum, assuming the rateable value of property throughout the country to be 100,000,000*l.*, would be exactly covered by a 3*d.* rate. By this means a sound elementary education would be provided at the cost of the community for every child whose parents were not sufficiently well off to give him instruction of a higher kind. What sort of reception would such a proposal as this meet with in the House of Commons? On this point we claim to speak with some impartiality, because we have long ago stated our conviction that the Denominationalist party, so far from being sufferers if such a Bill were passed, would be actual gainers by the change. They might have virtually the same facilities that they now have for giving religious instruction, and they would have time, money, and energy to spare for the improvement of religious instruction. The question we are considering, however, is not how Mr. Morley's proposal would affect the Denominationalists, but how the Denominationalists would stand affected towards Mr. Morley's proposal. Can there be any doubt about the answer to this question? The Church of England, the Roman Catholics, and a portion of the Wesleyans would find themselves on the point of being compelled either to hand their schools over to the School Boards, or to raise by voluntary subscriptions about five times the amount that they raise now, their subscribers being at the same time compelled to contribute their full share towards the maintenance of the Board schools. It is clear that, when exposed to such a strain as this, private liberality must break down, so that in the minds of the Denominationalists the success of the proposal would be tantamount to the absolute triumph of Secularism. No religious instruction would be given by the ordinary teachers in the Board schools, and the great majority of Denominationalists have for the present convinced themselves that, unless it is given by the ordinary teachers as part of the regular school work, it cannot be given at all. They would fight the battle therefore as though the whole issue between religion and no religion depended on it. On this point experience has shown that the Church of England is, with a few exceptions here and there, a united body, and, when united, the strength of the Church of England will probably be found very much greater than the Education League is disposed to admit. Nor would it fight alone. The ratepayers throughout the country would hear that a universal charge of 3*d.* in the pound was to be levied for the purpose of defraying an outlay which in a vast number of parishes is at present defrayed without the rates being raised by so much as a farthing. Mr.

Morley appears to think that the opposition excited by this consideration would only affect the immediate prospects of the measure. "It may be very well," he says, "for a writer of leading articles in the *Times* to insist on limiting his outlook to tomorrow morning, but surely there is no harm in occasionally considering a subject with a slightly wider horizon?" In matters of this sort everything depends upon degree. What amount of horizon will serve Mr. Morley's purpose? We suspect that he would have to stipulate for something like half a generation, and half a generation means two generations of children within school age. During that whole period educational progress would be sacrificed to the exigencies of educational controversy, and meanwhile millions of children would have grown up uneducated or badly educated because the Liberal party insisted on breaking with the existing machinery, instead of turning it to account for their own purposes.

Let us next assume that by some miracle Mr. Morley's proposal has become law, and that in every parish there is a school providing gratuitous elementary education at the cost in part of the Consolidated Fund, in part of the local rates. Mr. Morley holds that by this means a new sense of the value of instruction would be inculcated and diffused, and the salutary habit of local self-government would be deepened:—

All the objections [he says] in the mouths of the clergy and others against establishing School Boards in country parishes are simply objections to self-government, and a denial of its services exactly in those conditions where they are most needed. It is precisely in the rural districts that the consciousness of national life is feeblest, the sense of public responsibility most confused, the habits of collective action for public objects least formed and least on the alert. It is precisely in these districts that our present educational policy takes an important department of local affairs out of the hands of all but the clergy.

We do not dispute the abstract advantages of local self-government. On the contrary, we should rejoice to see all the parishes in England so keenly alive to the importance of education as to use the power they already possess of forming a School Board where the Education Department has not ordered them to do so. But before abolishing the whole machinery of voluntary agency, and trusting entirely to School Boards, we should like to see more evidence of a pre-existent sense of the value of education than is yet forthcoming. At present in country parishes the schools are managed for the most part by the clergyman and the squire, and over these the Education Department exercises a very powerful control through its powers of withholding the Government grant, and of creating a School Board in the event of its being dissatisfied with the education supplied by voluntary agency. Supposing School Boards were set up everywhere, and voluntary schools virtually closed, the parson and the squire would in most cases either remain aloof in angry indifference, or would throw themselves into the management of the School Board, with the hope of helping to bring matters to a pass which would force Parliament to retrace its steps. Either way, educational progress would be left to the care of the farmers or of the labourers. In spite of happy exceptions here and there, we do not believe that the former would be at all favourably disposed to a system which saddled them with a rate of 3*d.* in the pound, and, in proportion as it worked effectively, withdrew child labour from the fields. The labourers will eventually, no doubt, be the real strength of an educational system, because they are the parents of the children who are to benefit by it, and it will be to their interest to make it as efficient as possible. But the labourers must learn to appreciate education better before they will willingly rate themselves to provide it for their children, and the only way in which they can learn to appreciate it better is by seeing what it does for those subjected to it. At present in too many cases it does nothing. Upon this point all that Mr. Morley says is admirable:—

If an English peasant, for instance, knew how to read and count as a Scotch or an American peasant does, he would have a chance of finding out the monstrous percentage which the village shopkeeper makes him pay, and will continue to make him pay, until the victim has arithmetic enough, and can get from the papers knowledge enough of wholesale prices, to let him see the cost in hardly-earned cash of his present ignorance of his letters. . . . How is the man to be a co-operator, to watch accounts, to supervise transactions, when he left school at the age of ten in the Second Standard, and at the age of five-and-twenty could no more cast up a money column or calculate a percentage than he could solve a cubic equation? . . . Again, we are always chiding the labourer for not saving, and reproaching him for the constant breakdown of his clubs and benefit societies. What club or benefit society would not break down when most of its members are incompetent to supervise their own club accounts, or accurately watch the management of the club affairs? To have just scraped through in the Third Standard ten or eleven years back will do nothing to help a man here, and the result is that in most cases the village club is managed by the village publican, with breakdown for a consequence. . . . While, therefore, wholly repudiating the extravagant expectation of large classes of people, that mere spread of knowledge will transform the whole face of society, we contend that such an improved capacity of taking care of their own affairs as I have just described would be a most substantial social gain; it would be a most substantial social gain if our labouring class in England could all talk as articulately, as rationally, and as instructedly, and could take care of their interests as acutely, as you may trust the labouring class in Scotland to do.

But how is the labourer to know that six or seven years spent regularly at school will give his child these powers? He knows that the gentry have them; he may perhaps know that some of the workmen in the great towns, to which he occasionally goes to be dazed by the crowds and deafened by the noise, have them; but he associates the possession with the possession of money or with certain kinds of work, not with time spent in the village

school. But if the village school were all that it ought to be—were all that it would be, provided regular attendance for a sufficient number of years were made compulsory—the labourer would see by degrees that what he has envied or wondered at in others is equally within the reach of his own children. When once this fact has dawned upon him, he may safely be left to rate himself for educational purposes. The parson and the squire might stand aside from irritation, the farmers might stand aside from unenlightened self-interest; but the parents of the school children would know the worth of education, and might be trusted to see that their children had it. It is for the five or seven or ten years that must pass away before compulsion will have done its work that we should fear to leave elementary schools to the care of the ratepayers, because in these intervening years the labourer will not take in that he is a parent as well as a ratepayer, and that economy in the one character may be the worst kind of waste in the other.

There is a single passage in Mr. Morley's book on which we should be content to rest the controversy between us. It follows immediately after the passage last quoted:—

It may be urged that the Scotch training is penetrated with theology, and is biblical and dogmatic in the highest degree. Very likely it is. That is no answer to those who think with me that, though education without theology is better, yet education with theology is better than helplessness and sullen ignorance. The Scotch Denominationalists at least do their work well.

Why do the Scotch Denominationalists do their work well? Because they do it for and in the midst of a people which sets a high value on education. The English poor can only be made to set an equal value on education by being made to see its good effects in their own children. The quickest way to produce these good effects is to drive every child in the country into the existing schools, and to take care that the education given in them comes up to the proper mark. Mr. Morley says that children will never be legally compelled to go to school "if the clergy can help it." We know of no evidence which bears out this statement; but even if it were correct, what is it that makes the opposition of the clergy to compulsion really dangerous? The action of the Birmingham League. If the Liberal party were united in supporting the educational policy of the Government, and in pressing forward that policy to its legitimate developments, the clergy, even if they wished to stave off compulsion, would lack the power to do so. Those who think with Mr. Morley that, "though education without theology is better, yet education with theology is better than helpless sullen ignorance," are bound to consider whether education with theology or education without theology can be had soonest and had easiest. If by refusing to entertain this question fairly they prevent education being had promptly, or lower the quality of the education which can be had with theology, it is they who will be mainly responsible for all the evil consequences that may follow. The question at issue can be summed up in a sentence. Whether the Denominationalists are really friendly to education or not is a matter of no moment, for they are entirely under the control of the Education Department; the persons with whom it rests to promote or impede education are those who, rather than accept any settlement except their own, insist on paralysing the Government, and thereby making the control of the Education Department over voluntary schools immeasurably less effective.

ONE LOVE IN A LIFE.*

MISS PEARSON may be congratulated on the selection of her title, for it indicates exactly the line she is to follow in her story. It is to ring the changes on the old tune of a woman's wasted love, and to expatiate on the cankering griefs of an unfortunate or misplaced attachment. A more ambitious subject is scarcely to be chosen; and although it is the choice of nineteen lady-writers out of twenty, the chances against success are so many as altogether to defy calculation. You have to begin by inventing a woman who shall be natural and yet out of the common; you must make her excite an absorbing interest in the course of an existence whose outward incidents are commonplace. You have to analyse with a master's hand the intricate workings of her innermost heart, so that a study of the feelings and passions that are the universal property of her sex shall supply the sensations of a life drama pregnant with unexpected incidents. In short, you should be gifted with such an intuitive knowledge of human nature as is but rarely given to a few commanding intellects; and if you join to that the advantages of an extensive experience of mankind, so much the better. Where qualifications like these are the elementary conditions of success, failure may be taken to be a foregone conclusion. As the reviewer reads Miss Pearson's first two volumes with a purpose, making conscientious efforts to stimulate his flagging interest, he naturally asks himself how many people are likely to persevere for sheer pleasure, and he repents of having been unduly severe on the ordinary novels of sensation. Not that Miss Pearson is by any means a dull writer; she is not devoid of cleverness, nor even of a certain power; but she dilates on a hackneyed theme which nothing but original genius can make piquant. She ought to be able to draw a woman and depict a woman's nature, and Muriel Gore, her heroine, is far the best of the figures in the book.

* *One Love in a Life*. By Emma M. Pearson, Author of "Our Adventures in the War." Hurst & Blackett. 1874.

But Muriel's heart experiences and love adventures are altogether insufficient to lend interest to a novel in three volumes, and, what is more, her conduct is intensely unnatural. In fact, the essential vice of the book is the all-pervading sense of unreality. As we shall show afterwards, most of the subordinate characters are caricatures of ordinary humanity, if they do not degenerate into positive monsters. Muriel herself, in spite of her native purity, delicacy, and womanliness, behaves as we should fancy that no self-respecting young woman can have done since the famous nut-brown maid insisted on following her love to the forest, although she knew she should find a rival in his bower. On the other hand, Miss Pearson has merits of her own, which cannot be attributed to some of her female contemporaries whose works are the most widely read. She always writes with the feeling of a lady. She writes good English. She is generally informed as to what she is writing about, and she steers clear of blunders and absurdities while she is treating of men and their everyday ways. Although she distinguished herself in good works among the wounded and the suffering during the calamities of the late war, she has views that are equally strong and just on the subject of woman's proper sphere, and she speaks her mind with sense and freedom on the epicene beings who go beyond it. And we can scarcely doubt that, if she had utilized those exceptional experiences of hers, she might have written a novel that would have been very agreeable reading. As it is, we can only deal with *One Love in a Life* as we find it, and attempt to set forth the reason why we have failed to enjoy it.

In her childhood and girlhood Muriel Gore is a very old acquaintance in a very familiar dress. She is the large-eyed little girl, of queer ways and few apparent attractions, who is to burst all of a sudden into the extraordinary promise of beauties, moral and physical, which will be more than realised when she shall attain her prime. Precociously and extravagantly romantic, she keeps herself very much to herself. In strict privacy she enacts those sensational dramas in Holy Writ or modern fiction which have most strongly laid hold of her infant mind. Now she is Joshua smiting the hosts of the uncircumcised Canaanites; again she is laying on with Ivanhoe in the lists of Ashby, making wild work among the plated dish-covers with the dining-room poker. No wonder that such a child should scarcely be appreciated. In her embryo capacity for an engrossing passion she grows up in the hope of falling in with an Ivanhoe of her own to whom she shall play the parts of Rebecca and Rowena rolled into one. As it chances, she meets with her Ivanhoe at her very first ball. He is a certain Caryl Trevor, young, handsome, and very winning in his manners; an officer in the regiment that is quartered in the quiet town of Ropeley-by-the-Sea. At the ball she changes in a great transformation scene. She casts the slough of her girlish chrysalis, and emerges, in her pretty ball-dress and new-born feelings, a beautiful and spiritual butterfly, that all the men go hunting after. Trevor admires her with the rest, and, flattered by the undisguised partiality of the innocent *débutante*, would probably have fallen down and worshipped. But at Ropeley there is a recognized belle and beauty, a certain Kate Kennedy. She has taken his fancy, and she piques his pride because he has a formidable rival in his attentions to her in a brother officer, Lord Beauvilliers. Muriel has met her fate, and it is natural that she should lend a willing ear to the whispers of the hero she has fallen in love with, when morning after morning he meets her on the beach in company of a confiding aunt, who benevolently watches the smooth progress of the love affair. What is less natural is that pride and jealousy should not have dissipated the glamour which her girlish fancy has raised around him. For she sees herself neglected on each occasion when Kate Kennedy deigns to smile upon the faithless one. But if love fed upon itself and was fanned by hope so long as the field was free to her, the way in which she bore Trevor's cold-blooded abandonment does violence to all our sense of the probabilities. A cooler hand than Captain Caryl Trevor we never recollect to have encountered in fiction. He meets Miss Gore for the usual morning stroll the very day he has decided to offer himself to Miss Kennedy. He is sorry for the sorrow he is to cause, and seeks to console her:—

His looks grew very tender; his words had a lingering touch of affection in them.

"If I were ever to do anything you thought very unkind and cruel, would you forgive me, Muriel? I may call you so just to-day, may I not?—and you will this once only say Caryl?"

"How could you be unkind to me?"

"Cannot you guess? You may think so before many days are over," &c.

We can just conceive the possibility of her being carried away for the moment by his looks and language; she might still delude herself with the notion that a man who could so look and speak could never actually perpetrate the cruel and insulting outrage he was meditating. If she did succeed in deceiving herself, the reaction of feeling must surely have been more extreme when he unblushingly informed her of his faithlessness, within a very few hours. Because her passion had been born in her romantic nature so suddenly, we should have said that the subsequent disenchantment was the more likely to be thorough. Not a bit of it. It is not merely Spartan hypocrisy that makes her speak softly to her treacherous admirer, and take up the cudgels in his behalf. She loves him as much as ever, or more. This is pretty well; and if it is true to her strange nature, we cannot be surprised that she should accept Captain Trevor seven years later, when he at last gives her the chance. Miss Kennedy had jilted him at the eleventh hour for Lord Beauvilliers, and after seven years' service in India

he comes home to find his deserted Rachel as much in love with him as ever. She promptly accepts his proposals, and the wedding-day is fixed. On the very eve of it he runs up against the widowed Lady Beauvilliers in Charing Cross Station, and she carries him off to Paris, and marries him. She at least knew her man, and did not trust his second thoughts. It is not easily conceivable that a man so weak as Trevor, and a man of the world with all his weakness, should have consented to act like a fool as well as a scoundrel on such short notice, and all for a woman who had behaved to him as Kate had done. He must have known, as she must, that, lenient as society often is, it could never overlook conduct so flagrant as theirs. It is not very conceivable that such a man should have inspired two such passions, and that he should not only have made the earnest Muriel his own for life, but tempted the worldly Lady Beauvilliers to be guilty of social suicide. But will it be believed that Muriel's love lives through it all? Not only does she love him still, not only does she take pride in avowing her love, but she actually consents to elope with him later, when he has deliberately made up his mind to ruin her. To be sure, her religious feeling comes in to save her at the eleventh hour, when nothing else could have triumphed over her infatuation; and even then it was perhaps fortunate that a violent death should have removed her evil genius; for, had the Fates given him another opportunity, we should have been sorry indeed to answer for the consequences.

We think we may safely assert that the credulity of readers has seldom been so severely taxed, even in the very wildest of sensational romances. And some of the secondary characters are even less natural than Muriel; for, through all the mad extravagances of her diseased passion, she remains an attractive and womanly woman, whose fortunes we follow with a certain interest. There is Charlie Evans, her cousin and her good genius, who counterplots against the plots of her evil genius. He has loved her from early boyhood with a steadfastness of self-sacrificing affection that can only find a counterpart in her own. He does his utmost to hand her over to Trevor, although he reads that gentleman with rare perspicacity. As a boy he talks like a philosophical patriarch who has formed his style of speech on a course of the best sentimental fiction. There is Charles's mother, who is a religious fanatic of the strictest sect of the Calvinists; who, as Miss Pearson assures us, is rather weak than hypocritical; which we should never suspect her to be, although she is as narrow in her intellect as in her ideas. But as for her being no hypocrite, with religion always in her mouth she lends countenance to deeds of baseness which are rather atrocities than ordinary crimes. She ships two of her sons to an unhealthy climate because they cross her views with regard to the marriage of her favourite one. It is her desire that her favourite son shall marry Muriel, and, in order that he may do so, she not only abets him in shipwrecking the girl's happiness on two occasions, but actually declines to interfere when it is pointed out to her that the scoundrel is plotting for Muriel's seduction by the man who has twice discarded her. There is a Dr. O'Rourke, Mr. Evans's confidant and spiritual counsellor, the most barefaced of Tartuffes and the very shallowest of impostors. O'Rourke is always ready to play his part in Mrs. Evans's infamous family conspiracies, and he approves of the sins of her unredeemed son, because he fears that he is doomed to perdition at any rate. Yet Dr. O'Rourke, after fattening on the pew-rents of a proprietary chapel, actually obtains preferment as a bishop of the Church of England. So we might go on, analysing others of the personages; but perhaps we have said enough to justify our remark as to the pervading unreality of the story. Yet, consistently unnatural as it is, and although it often breaks down in sheer absurdities, we retain the impression we expressed before, that Miss Pearson is capable of writing a good novel. In *One Love in a Life* she has been writing throughout up to the false key she struck at the outset, and has been consistently employing a perverted ingenuity in evolving originality out of the commonplace. We think we discover the proof of her capacity for better things in the fact that, in spite of those daring improbabilities which offend us at every turn, we are sufficiently interested in the heroine's extravagant fortunes to read the last of the volumes with far more interest than its predecessors.

VINOY'S RISE AND FALL OF THE COMMUNE.*

EVEN had not the success of his former work tempted him, it would be very natural that General Vinoy should desire to tell the world how far he was responsible, as the military head of affairs, for the history of France during that unhappy interregnum of lawlessness which began with the armistice granted by Germany and culminated in the Commune. Not to mention his having commanded on the fatal 18th March, which gave Paris over for more than two months to the crew of bastard Socialists whose inner history Cluseret has recently unveiled for us, his position was a most important one for his country from the day that he was first named to succeed Trochu as commander-in-chief until his army was absorbed in that of MacMahon. This interval found the Commune gradually emerging out of the festering elements of disorder in Paris. It saw it triumphant over Thiers's attempt to close with it in its favourite den on the heights of Montmartre. It heard the motley band who struggled among themselves for a brief authority giving themselves out as a united and sovereign power, and inviting the world to follow the glorious example of the freed metropolis of France, which was to know no law but

their decrees, nor feel any taxes but their daily requisitions. It witnessed the reaction against this puny terrorism which aped the vices of the men of '93 without their force, as France poured her recovered legions into the camp before Versailles. And it closed when the agitators of the Hôtel de Ville were losing heart; the Cabinet of the President recovering confidence in the destiny of the country which, outside the one great seat of turmoil, proved loyal to order; and the troops which defended it throwing off the despondency of long defeat, and preparing, under the best general yet left to France, for the sustained effort needed to win her back her capital. Of all the phases of these eventful months General Vinoy gives us a narrative, confessedly from his own point of view, but candid in its matter, and written in the same clear style and with the same complete mastery over the military part of his subject that have made his former volume one of the most valuable contributions to the literature of the war.

The story opens on the 20th of January, when Trochu had reached the very nadir of popular opinion, after the failure of the huge, ill-managed sortie of the day before, the last and worst of the many military blunders of the defence. In the words of Jules Favre, the irritation against the Governor "was increasing from hour to hour." The man who in the fresh power of his nomination, more than four months before, had sought to flatter and conciliate the mob, had now to feel the Nemesis of his own weakness. The disheartened Cabinet of the Government of Defence, alarmed at the rapid growth of disaffection, betrayed its own irresolution and indecision by summoning the mayors of the twenty arrondissements of the city to consult with it; and these told Trochu plainly that he could no longer possibly retain the post in which he had so notably failed. This singular meeting took place late on the 21st, and was followed by a night sitting of the Government to continue the discussion. It was three o'clock in the morning of the 22nd before Jules Favre could carry the point he insisted on, and procure the nomination (which he had for some time advocated) of General Vinoy to the military command which it was plain would henceforth be a nullity in the hands of Trochu, and which the latter declared himself ready to resign, ostensibly in order that his successor might treat with the Germans. Vinoy might possibly have guessed what would be the result of the conference; but he knew nothing of it certainly until, an hour afterwards, he received M. Favre's official letter appointing him to the charge. "The Government" (this letter said), "having decided that the command-in-Chief shall henceforth be separated from the functions of the President of the Council, has named you to it in the room of General Trochu. It would have desired to acquaint you of its intention before thus disposing of you; but the extreme urgency has obliged it to take its resolve without delay, and it counts on your patriotism and devotion."

No charge, says Vinoy very truly, could have been more onerous than that thus thrown upon him. The troops were demoralized. The boldest of the generals were fully agreed on the impossibility of prolonging resistance to the iron investiture that was bringing actual starvation on Paris. Nevertheless, that nothing might be left untried, a number of the smartest of the colonels had been summoned to a separate Council of War, and their opinion, as that of a younger and bolder class, had been taken before the necessity of treating was absolutely admitted. Vinoy of course knew all this; and so he replied that it was unfair at that moment to throw on any man but the one who had had the whole responsibility of the military measures of the past four months the pain of capitulating. But in reply to this objection General Le Flô, the Minister of War, urged the absolute necessity that existed for "a firm and energetic command" in order to protect Paris from the evil passions that were fermenting in her bosom. That night, he said, Mazas had been broken open, and Flourens, Millière, and the band of desperate Reds who were confined there had issued forth to join their friends outside. Well indeed might those whose power had sprung from the abrupt decrees of the mob of the 4th September dread the course of mob legislation in this hour of disaster. When passing from his conference with General Le Flô, Vinoy sought Favre himself to learn more exactly the conditions of the proposed command. He found the Vice-President of the Government agitated by the arrival of M. Cresson, its Prefect of Police, who, "convinced of his impotence to ward off, or control, or repress" the impending disturbances, had come to give in his own resignation of what he felt to be an office alike useless to the public and dangerous to its holder. This incident decided General Vinoy, and he forthwith accepted without further hesitation the command, which remained in his hands till he was superseded by MacMahon when the second siege was well begun.

It certainly was time that some one acted promptly. The city, or at least the many thousands in it who had nothing to lose, and who had been living at free quarters during the investment (free rations, and fifteenpence a day pocket-money being the rate of pay), were furious at the report of a capitulation; and Flourens and his party were guiding the agitation to their own ends. The insurrection dreaded by the Prefect of Police broke out that very afternoon, and the mob, without warning, opened fire suddenly on the windows of the Hôtel de Ville. Fortunately a trustworthy battalion of Mobiles from Brittany, which was moving southward across Paris, had been directed to halt at this important point. Indignant at the attack, and probably enough ready for conflict with the Reds, they returned the fire with such effect as instantly to disperse the mob. Detachments of the latter for some time indeed held houses which they had seized at the neighbouring street-corners, in preparation for the attempt on the Hôtel de Ville; but as they saw the

* *L'Armistice et la Commune.* Par le général Vinoy. Paris: Plon.

heads of the columns appear which Vinoy was directing to the support of the Mobiles, they abandoned these one by one, and gave up their efforts for the time. A single slight act of vigour had put off the evil day of Commune rule, and averted the horrors that would have inevitably accrued to the unhappy capital from the prolonged resistance which the insurgents made their cry.

Although General Vinoy, as becomes one of his profession, passes on in his narrative at this point to give a detail of the military state of things at the crisis which brought him into command, and especially reviews the material means of resistance available for the defence, there is no necessity to follow him here. Indeed it is difficult to affect any interest at this point, when famine had done its fatal work on the defence. But the General does not forget to add that his survey is chiefly with an eye to the future; and he takes the opportunity of giving his own views, as drawn from practical experience, of the proper modifications to be made in the works round Paris to render it impregnable. We shall note but one remark which, though not made with such an object by General Vinoy, is indirectly the most complete condemnation of that inactivity of the defence in engineering operations which was the very worst side, in a strictly professional sense, of Trochu's conduct:—

It is not forbidden [he says] to those who have taken part in the struggle to draw from the facts, in a purely theoretical view, the conclusions they naturally point to. And, first of all, the defence of Paris has proved the efficacy, with the arms now in use, of works of counter-approach such as were first employed by the Russians at Sebastopol.

This has been from the first the view we have taken in these pages, though we are far from thinking with the General that this system was fairly tried; and if our former criticisms needed confirmation, they would find it in these words of his, which show that, had Trochu's genius been such as that of Tolleben, it would have needed but a moderate use of it to give the Germans infinitely more trouble than they experienced at his hands.

The remainder of the first half of this volume carries us down to the Commune victory of the 18th March. A slight study of the pages will show that that successful insurrection was but the culminating point of a series of hostile demonstrations against the Government on the part of those who were using the armed mob within Paris for their own purposes. It is easy, no doubt, to imagine all sorts of fine sentiments hidden beneath the boiling mass of insurrection on which the scum rose in the foul form of the Commune. Of course there were simple theorists mixed up in it who had their own particular ideas of the triumph of labour, or the regeneration of the human race, or the special right of Paris as a sort of goddess among great cities to separate herself from the rest of France, and constitute herself the cosmopolitan centre of the civilized world. But such dreamers merely floated in, without really influencing, the elements of insurrection. These were in the main plainly two. There were at least a couple of hundred thousand of the armed National Guards who were either habitual idlers by choice, or, at the best, artisans who had been for months out of work. All these had been carrying arms, wearing uniform, receiving free rations, and drawing pay for the whole period of Trochu's command, without an attempt being made to bring them into any sort of order. So hopelessly incompetent indeed was the pretended military rule under which they carried their muskets, that the court-martial which sat on the insurgents taken before the Hôtel de Ville on the 22nd of January with arms in their hands broke up, declaring that it found it had no legal power under the laws of the Empire or the decrees of the Government of Defence to deal with these offenders. Of course this weakness above was felt below by every desperado that Belleville or Montmartre sent out. And to all these the disarmament which Thiers designed meant the instant loss of the dress, the "national canteen" dinners, and the beloved eau-de-vie, with a return to that dull prosaic life of everyday work which novelists nowadays are never tired of representing as a special affliction on the working classes. So long as they kept their muskets these battalions felt that they could keep their other privileges. They wanted only leaders to show them how this pleasant life of out-of-door lounging, varied by exciting speeches at their clubs and drams at the *bucette*, could be made eternal. And these leaders they found in the demagogues of the International, and in the more tried chiefs of sedition whose names were already known as connected with barricades, who had flocked to Paris when it was thrown open. Ever the most congenial home to the enemy of order, it had never been so suited for his machinations as now. The revolutionists of Europe instinctively felt this and flew to the gathering. Whether to enrich himself at the cost of the rich, or to seize the brief joy of supreme power at the expense of the timid, each perceived that his moment was come. And so the revolutionary chaos received its second element of ambitious or greedy or order-hating chiefs, as soon as the railroads into the city were at work. What manner of men these were that governed it, what a mixture of swagger, of suspicion, and of incompetency gathered at the revolutionary centres, let their chosen general and favoured journalist, Cluseret, tell for us. He gives the inner story. In Vinoy's work we find, carefully and calmly traced, as seen from the outside, the progress of the coming struggle, even to the death, between order and disorder, of which the 18th March was the first scene.

Vinoy's own evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, long since reviewed by us, has told that part of his tale so fully that little can be added here. The General has of course still the excuse of the positive orders of his Government for undertaking the attempt on Montmartre which his better judgment told him to

be quite impracticable. He now shows it to have been even more desperate than it first appeared; for the greater part of his 35,000 men had been actually but two days transferred to their new cadres (in consequence of the dispersal of the soldiers claiming discharge on the peace, whose places they took) when he received the order to make the attempt. On the other hand, it appears here more plainly than it did before the Committee that the Government of M. Thiers was so rash as to count on the active co-operation of at least half of the National Guard. Surely a statesman sprung from the *bourgeoisie* should have known that class better. However, the Cabinet were resolved to have done with the attitude of open defiance maintained by the insurrectionary party, which every day grew more palpable and menacing. So they gave the instruction, and Vinoy did his best to carry it out. So good a soldier may be pardoned a soldier's error.

Interesting as the second half of his volume is, it is anticipated here by his own evidence, and, in its account of the second siege, by the more general narratives already published. The historian will naturally turn to it as a useful addition to these; but its chief worth must ever lie in the special light it throws on the state of things in Paris which preceded open civil war.

SIMMONDS ON WASTE.*

MR. P. L. SIMMONDS retains, it would seem, a pleasing recollection of the notice which we took at the time of his *Waste Products and Undeveloped Substances*, published eleven years ago. We must say that he has fully entitled himself to a renewal and even an enhancement of our good opinion by the pains he has been at to extend and supplement his work by the addition of such new matter as the progress of science or of social economy has made available for his purpose. It may not unfairly be set down in great part to the interest stirred by his researches and published papers, that a special section was set apart at the late Vienna Exhibition for the display of waste materials and their products, in which each country might have an opportunity of showing what it had done in this direction since the first International Exhibition of London in 1851. By the request of the British Commission, Mr. Simmonds was most appropriately delegated to bring together and to organize within the great building in the Prater a representative collection of this kind, illustrating the most conspicuous industries and utilizing processes which have sprung out of the reclamation of waste in this country. The example which Great Britain was the first to set on any extensive scale has since been followed largely on the Continent, in Australia, the United States, and even in the various States of South America, where numerous substances formerly neglected or thrown away have been systematically turned to purposes of use and profit. If that man is to be considered a benefactor of his race who makes one blade of grass to grow where none had grown before, we may pronounce him scarcely less deserving of the thanks of mankind who saves even a single ounce of matter from waste.

His former work having long been out of print, Mr. Simmonds presents us with a new one, reproducing in a great measure his former matter, which he is at the same time careful to describe as his own only in the capacity of a gatherer or disposer of other men's goods. Originality in such a case is indeed of less consequence than accuracy and fulness. Next to wealth and truth of detail, we must rank clearness of arrangement and classification, in which respects our author falls deplorably short, notwithstanding the claims which he puts forth to merit under this head. With the exception of a tolerably full index, there is absolutely no clue to the connexion or distribution of contents, the volume flowing on for nearly five hundred pages with no division beyond that into paragraphs. Even the heading of the pages is unvaried from first to last. Nor is there any such help to the reader's eye or mind as is given by mere distinctions of type, if not by the wonted cutting up into chapters or sections. The smooth and equable flow of the book reminds us of nothing so much as of the way in which paper, by what is known as the continuous process, is reeled off in never-ending rolls, beginning from the pulping vat and ending with the cylinder or frame of type. It may thus serve to illustrate in passing one of the most conspicuous and familiar processes for the reclamation of odds and ends. The scarcity of materials to meet the growing demand for paper has at the same time set invention on the rack and given an impulse to household thrift. Whilst the world is ransacked far and wide for new kinds of vegetable fibre, the refuse heap at home is turned over with a heedful eye to a possible utilization of its motley and even frowsty constituents. Above all, every scrap of paper already used is put by and hoarded with a view to a second existence and turn of service. In every thrifty household the paper sack has become an institution. A struggle has arisen with the housemaid for the vested right in each bit of refuse paper, and all that can be wrested from lighting the fire goes to swell the sack in some cupboard or spare-room corner, to find its way when bursting with fulness to the papermaker's. So far from finding, as of old, a nuisance in the piles of prospectuses and tradesmen's circulars which the post is for ever bringing, it is with a smug sense of satisfaction that the needy curate or

* *Waste Products and Undeveloped Substances: a Synopsis of Progress made in their Economic Utilization during the last Quarter of a Century at Home and Abroad.* By P. L. Simmonds, Editor of the "Journal of Applied Science," &c. London: Hardwicke. 1873.

struggling clerk pops the tempting snare or mendacious puff into the yawning canvas mouth, thinking the while how nicely it is going towards paying his modest income-tax. Of the destination of each scrap which has already done its turn by way of correspondence, or sermons, or printed matter, he may satisfy his curiosity out of Mr. Simmonds's industriously drawn out pages, in which, for aught he can tell, may reappear particles of the very materials which his own thrift has given back to literary use. Our author, though in rather a rambling fashion, goes fully into the various sources in addition to paper waste from which the manufacture is supplied, as well as the processes by which these different materials are brought to their final state. Through each successive stage, it need scarcely be said, each substance deteriorates, the fine paper made from cotton or linen rags losing much of its quality as it passes through the state of waste, resulting after a turn or two in a very coarse and poor article indeed. But besides linen and cotton use is now made of old leather scraps, of which paper samples may be seen in the Animal Products Collection in the Bethnal Green Museum. Of new and undeveloped substances every day coming into use to supplement these more familiar materials there is absolutely no end. Paper is being made from maize and other straw; from oat-husks; from sea-weeds of many kinds, such as the *Zostera marina*, the *Cineraria maritima*, of the coasts of Southern Europe; the *Scirpus lacustris* of California; the *Epilobium*, or fireweed, of Northern America; the *Sida retusa* of Australia, as well as esparto grass and the bamboo and other canes. Even beetroot pulp and sawdust are largely pressed into the service. A process for making strong and fine paper or parchment from fish-fibre macerated in dilute sulphuric acid is also given by our author from a paper by M. Quatrefages.

Few discoveries have been more fruitful in results than that of the detection by Faraday of benzole among the residue of gas-making retorts. From this filthy oily refuse have sprung the most magnificent colours and the sweetest perfumes, and the means of illumination have been vastly extended, whilst from the investigation of its properties advances have been made far and wide into the domain of organic chemistry. Amongst the gains to utility or commercial profit which the modern chemist has had to announce, there are some in respect to which a natural prejudice has had to give way to common sense and scientific persuasion. Such is the extraction of sugar from the beet, originally taken up by Margraf as an unsightly weed growing wild on the shores of the Mediterranean, now forming one of the staples of culture and manufacture in France, though, mainly on fiscal grounds, not yet admitted among the industries of these islands. It will hardly be till civilization here has attained the culminating pitch of Laputa that we shall get over our present antipathy to processes so ingenious as that of turning out butter from Thames mud or engine-grease. A shudder which to future progress in science may seem absurd has been felt at the announcement of the great American process for making champagne out of petroleum; and now we have the equally terrible announcement of the concoction by certain ingenious Americans of currant jelly out of old boots. In Germany, we are told, many large factories find remunerative labour in making golden syrup out of sulphuric acid and starch. Our author's silence upon the subject exempts us from the necessity of agitating our readers' minds or stomachs by going into the secrets of the American manufacture of artificial oysters from kitchen waste. Would a fitting corrective, we should like to ask, be found in a sip of the brandy which an ingenious distiller at Malta, according to Mr. Simmonds, produces from shavings? That Hamburg has long been sending us port and sherry from potatoes is a fact too familiar to excite much horror now, though it may have been from the extra strength or dryness chemically imparted to some special brand of that otherwise harmless vegetable extract that a gentleman in the north of England died the other day from drinking a couple of glasses. With all our admiration for the ingenuity and patience which are put forth in utilizing waste and developing novel substances, we reserve a timid protest against having our stomachs made the laboratory for experiments of this kind. So long as the gentle and salutary chemistry of nature is made the intermediary stage, as when the loathsome refuse of the farmyard, the stable, or the street sewer becomes the agent in fertilizing our barren acres, yielding pure and wholesome vegetable growths, we wish God speed to as many bold and enterprising schemes as Mr. Simmonds may have to record for us in future editions of his work. In nature, as there is no waste, so is there no real impurity. Dirt, as Lord Palmerston pithily expressed it, is nothing but matter in the wrong place. It is for science to see that everything finds its fit and salutary place, and that nothing is thrown away. Commercially speaking, it may not be clear as yet that every saving brings its immediate profit, yet experience of the past should encourage the belief that everything may have a use and a profit found for it. "Will it pay?" is of course the question first inevitably put when any attempt is made to introduce a new product, or to utilize in a new way any residue from our established industries. And philanthropy itself has little chance of getting a hearing as long as it fails to show an equivalent return. It is some encouragement, at all events, to reflect that benevolence and enlightened self-interest have a common field in the reclamation of all waste, and the opening up of every mine of nature's wealth. What an amount of force is already busily employed in our midst in the utilization of waste material may be judged from the statistics put together by Mr. Simmonds. The last London Post Office

Directory shows that there are upwards of two thousand householders within the metropolitan district directly interested in the sale and application of refuse or waste, and the residues of manufactures. This enumeration includes some fifty different industries, proceeding alphabetically from "bladder and sausage-skin dealers," and "blood-driers," to "waste ivory, bone, and tortoiseshell dealers," and "yeast merchants." Among the subsidiary agencies which supply them with material, one of the most useful is the rag-collecting brigade of the London Ragged School Union, by whose operations, four trucks only being employed, no less than 82 tons weight of waste stuff—paper and rags forming the staple—were collected within nine months of the first year. Still more active is the *chiffonnier* army of Paris, where not less than 22,500 persons find their living in the collection of refuse. Many curious particulars of this characteristic phase of French life are given by Mr. Simmonds, whose pages contain some not less striking facts and figures touching the unwonted foods brought into use, and the manifold shifts of which necessity became the mother under the strain of the siege of Paris. The task he has set himself in picking up these multifarious and desultory bits of informatica may be said to be in great measure allied to that of the humble and not over-nice craft of the *chiffonnier*. But he is himself candid and retiring enough to admit as much. And this modesty of his in speaking of his labours is not the least of the merits which may fairly win for his book the favour and appreciation of the public.

WHITTIER'S POEMS.*

MANY of the best and most current sayings of didactic poets are wholly devoid of foundation in fact, and certainly none of them is more untrue, for our own time at least, than that of Horace concerning middling poets. We find existence abundantly conceded to them by men and booksellers, and there is no sign of the gods interfering. Indeed the favour of the public goes far beyond according them a bare right of existence, and maintains them in sufficient reputation to make their calling agreeable to themselves, and, we suppose, sufficiently profitable to enlist the booksellers' interest on the same side. We are often told that the popular voice, as expressed by the degree of permanent esteem which a writer obtains among posterity, will be found to justify itself in the long run. This is very possible, but we are now speaking only of the honour which poets have among their immediate contemporaries. The amount of paradox involved in the opinion to which we have committed ourselves depends on the meaning we attach to such words as "middling" and "mediocrity." They naturally and properly denote the quality of work which does not manifestly either exceed or fall short of the standard of ordinary skill and diligence, whatever that may be, in the particular matter in hand. In popular usage they have been taken as convenient euphemisms, just stopping short of the open assertion that something is in fact decidedly below what was expected, and they have thus acquired a certain invidious by-meaning, if we may venture to coin a less scholastic equivalent for the "connotation" of modern logicians. But in the meantime no other word has been found for that which leaves the judgment really neutral, that which does not excite in us any particular admiration, nor yet call for any particular censure. The greater part of the common objects and acts of life are of this kind; and now that we speak of middling poetry we desire to be understood in this sense and in no other. It is no doubt much disputed whether mediocrity in any sense be admissible in the fine arts; and there is the express authority of Horace for the opinion that poetry may as well be very bad as be not very good. But he rests his opinion on the ground of poetry being a luxury; wherefore, if we are to have it at all, we should have it of the best. And the supposition that poetry is a luxury is not true, except at a time and a place where literary tastes are really confined to a select few. Such was probably the case at Rome in Horace's day, but it certainly is not the case in the English-speaking countries of our day. Almost every one who can command a little more than the indispensable comforts of life indulges in some sort of poetical or artistic taste, though oftentimes a very strange sort; and the increased demand for poetry, as well as for all other kinds of art work, tends for the present to lower the average quality of the supply. For the persons among whom vague artistic desires have become diffused are not educated enough to be fastidious; and, indeed, they prefer, as a recent writer has justly remarked, to be entertained with something only a little above their own level. In this state of things, so far from there being no room for mediocrity to exist, it is plain that there is every encouragement for it. And as some such result is inevitable, so it is useless for criticism to expect anything different, or to be angry with people for not being ready for the highest gifts of poetry all at once. The most it can exact is that the mediocrity that ministers to their wants shall be respectable. The critic may rebuke positive faults; but he cannot well censure the modern writer of poetry merely for falling short of that excellence which confers lasting fame. In England there is at present a reaction against commonplace, or, perhaps it would be more civil to say, unambitious poetry. In America, however, its reign appears to be in full force. Perhaps this is because the general reading population of the United States is more crude and newly formed than our own; perhaps it is because the really competent readers of America, who are at least as discerning as those of England, do

* The Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier. London: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

not hold so central and commanding a position. At all events the fact is so; or the large quantities of verse which Mr. Whittier has published in the United States at various times during the last thirty years and more, and which are collected in the volume now before us, would not be so popular as we are informed they are.

Mr. Whittier's complete poetical works make up a book a trifle bigger than the American edition of Mr. Lowell's, the form and type being almost identical. The print of both is uncomfortably small; but in size of margin, and we are inclined to think in legibility, there is a slight advantage in favour of Mr. Whittier's English publishers. It is a more material difference between the two books that, whereas Mr. Lowell's poems contain much that we believe is destined to live for many generations, we do not apprehend that there is any one piece of Mr. Whittier's that will survive the memory of those who are now living. This book of poetry is that which we should choose of all others to hold up to Horace as a visible confutation of his maxim. It is the triumph of respectable and successful mediocrity, that word being used, as we have explained, in a purely neutral sense. Mr. Whittier has a great fluency in writing verse, and he never writes any that is not passable; he also has enough versatility to be equally passable in several different styles. On the other hand, he seldom produces anything so good as to make us feel that the world would be the worse for its loss, and there is no one line of poetry in which he is not distinctly inferior to some one living or recent writer. His pastoral scenes and ballads, in which he is perhaps at his best, are still not so good as Mr. Longfellow's, and perhaps some readers will think that not a very severe test.

His pieces on domestic politics, although he appears to have put all his strength into them, are not for one moment to be compared to Mr. Lowell's. They may have been effective, as leading articles are effective, at the date of the events they are concerned with, but they hardly bear examination at this distance of time. Nor is he much more successful with European politics. It is perhaps doubtful whether it is altogether in good taste for a poet to write in a spirit not of justice and judgment, but of violent partisanship and animosity, about other people's affairs in which he has no share; it seems better and more natural that each people should provide war-songs for itself. At any rate a poet who takes this course should justify it by very clear success. Mr. Whittier's voice is not strong enough for a volunteer prophet of European freedom. A comparison of his poem, entitled "The Peace of Europe" with Mr. Lowell's "Villa Franca" or Mr. Swinburne's "Song in Time of Order" will make this evident. Mr. Lowell is bitter but judicial; Mr. Swinburne is exceeding bitter, and as far as can be from judicial; but the very ferocity of his ballad carries it out of the poet's own self-assertion into the region of dramatic lyrics. Mr. Whittier's lines are only scolding and didactic. He is still less satisfactory in an address "to the Reformers of England," containing some nonsense about a "bloated Church" and a "State scaffold," which an educated American really ought to be ashamed of having written. Would Mr. Whittier prefer a Church out at elbows and an irresponsible private scaffold? His real meaning is probably that both a Church and a scaffold are absolutely bad, and the one as bad as the other. Shortly after this effusion comes a declamation against capital punishment, where we get the author's views on the scaffold more at large. This is entitled "The Human Sacrifice"; in thought it is Victor Hugo and water, and in style it is Byron and water. We have Byron and water pure and simple in certain Scriptural pieces, where the Hebrew Melodies are sadly diluted. Another singular eclectic manner occurs in the "Crisis" (a poem on the result of the Mexican war), whereof the first two stanzas run thus:—

Across the Stony Mountains, o'er the desert's drouth and sand,
The circles of our empire touch the Western Ocean's strand;
From slumberous Timpanogos to Gila, wild and free,
Flowing down from Nuevo-Leon to California's sea;
And from the mountains of the East to Santa Rosa's shore,
The eagles of Mexitli shall beat the air no more.

O Vale of Rio Bravo! Let thy simple children weep;
Close watch about their holy fire let maids of Pecos keep;
Let Taos send her cry across Sierra Madre's pines,
And Algodones toll her bells amidst her corn and vines;
For lo! the pale land-seekers come, with eager eyes of gain,
Wide scattering, like the bison herds on broad Salada's plain.

It appears to us that much the same result would be obtained by mixing "From Greenland's icy mountains" and the "Battle of Ivry" in equal proportions. Further on there is a piece called "Ichabod," founded on the same idea as Mr. Browning's "Lost Leader," and Mr. Whittier's treatment of the subject makes it painfully certain by this crucial instance that there is more poetry in any three lines of Mr. Browning than in any three hundred pages of Mr. Whittier.

In one part of the collection the English reader is perplexed by some glowing funeral panegyrics (though they glow somewhat frigidly) on divers persons who perhaps ought to be known in these islands, but at any rate are not. He also has constantly to encounter false rhymes, such as *dawning* and *morning*, *woody* and *sturdy*, *Katahdin* and *garden*. But perhaps it is mere British affectation to think that an *r* more or less makes any difference. With all this Mr. Whittier, being a very fluent, practised, and respectable writer, does occasionally rise above his own average, and some of his tales in verse are really very pretty. His pictures of domestic scenery have also a certain grace and picturesqueness. The best known of these, though by no means in itself the best, is the ballad of Maud Muller, of which

the true final cause is Mr. Bret Harte's burlesqued but very probable sequel. We ought to have mentioned Mr. Bret Harte before as one of the contemporaries whom we should put above Mr. Whittier in serious poetry; witness Mr. Bret Harte's war-songs, and his lines on the fire of Chicago, a subject on which the two poets come into direct competition.

For the reasons we explained at the beginning we must resign ourselves to the existence of voluminous mediocrity. Mr. Whittier's mediocrity is harmless, and perhaps meritorious, and those who think it worth while to search through the heap will be rewarded by some scattered good things. We confess that, having done it, we do not think it worth while.

ROGERS ON SCOTTISH MONUMENTS.*

IN noticing the first volume of this work some time ago, we indicated an opinion that, to serve any useful purpose, collections of epitaphs ought to consist of careful selections, arranged according to their period and character. In this way we believe they may throw considerable light on the temper and feelings of different times, although it must be kept in view that inscriptions are not always to be regarded as expressing the natural emotions of those by whom they have been erected, since in their composition use was frequently made of the services of others, who adhered, with little variation, to a formula established in their neighbourhood; and we may add that the influence of local custom is in the same way to be seen in the employment of certain symbols in districts, to denote a trade or calling.

The present volume has about it much of the character of its predecessor, while it contains fewer inscriptions of an historical nature. The editor has drawn on the collections of Mr. Jervise so far as they have proceeded, but he has nothing to supply the place of the volumes of Menteith and Brown which helped so largely to swell his first volume. A somewhat inordinate prominence, as it seems to us, is given near the beginning, to a description of the monument of Sir William Wallace on the Abbey Craig, near Stirling, and of the steps which led to its erection. It appears that the editor himself acted as secretary to the originators, and that the duties of his office proved most irksome and arduous; "for, in addition to the ordinary difficulties of raising money for a public object, there had to be encountered and overcome the crude notions of one or more adherents of the enterprise." Much incongruous detail also is introduced connected with a group of statues at Stirling—originating likewise to some extent in the energies of Dr. Rogers—but the inscriptions copied from which are of yesterday, and give us nothing of the age of Knox, Melville, and Henderson, in memory of whom they were erected. It would seem that in the much debated matter of the Wigton Martyrs a compromise had been attempted, for the monument commemorates only one of the two—Margaret Wilson. Perhaps this will be regarded as a step in the right direction by Mr. Mark Napier, who thinks he has demonstrated that there was no martyrdom at all.

Of the inscriptions in the volume which seem characteristic of the men and the age we may indicate that of Andrew Cant, the great upholder of the Covenant. On his tomb he is described as "vir suo seculo summus, qui orbi huic et urbi ecclesiastes, voca et vita inclinatam religionem sustinuit, degeneres mundi mores refinxit, ardens et amans, Boanerges et Barnabas, magnes et adamas." With these expressions it is curious to compare the complaint which his patrons, the magistrates of Aberdeen, made against him towards the end of his career:—

Mr. Andro in his sermon did most unchristianly utter curses and imprecations against the compleeners, vizt., that God rub shame upon them, and to set his mark upon them, which he declarit to be his prayers in private, and calling us villains, and actors of villanies.—Aberdeen Records, vol. ii., p. 189. Burgh Record Soc.

The inscription of Archbishop Sharp ("Sacratissimi Antistitis, prudentissimi Senatoris, sanctissimi Martyris") is also deserving of notice. It portrays a character which affords curious subjects of contrast with that bestowed on him from the other side. On his monument we find that "paci angelum, sapientie oraculum, gravitatis imaginem, boni et fideles subditi impietatis perduellionis et schismatis hostem acerrimum, Dei regis et gregis inimici viderunt agnoverunt admirabantur." How vividly do we realize the divided feelings of the nation at that time when we turn to the writings of Sharp's opponents, where he is described with equal sincerity as a bloodthirsty perjured apostate, and when we find that on the monument of one of his cruel assassins some could place the following inscription:—

A faithful martyr here doth lye
A witness against perjury;
Who cruelly was put to death,
To gratify proud prelates' wrath, &c.

Many of the inscriptions are of comparatively modern date, and their burden, in various forms of expression, is the uncertainty of life and the necessity of continual watchfulness. A favourable example of this class, dated in 1707, occurs in the parish of Barry:—

Mors tuo [tua], mors Christi, fraus mundi, gloria celi,
Et dolor Inferni, sunt meditando tibi.

* *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland.* By the Rev. Charles Rogers, LL.D. Vol. II. London: Printed for the Grampian Club.

One of this sort, in the parish of Rayne, is the voice of the minister, who died in 1653:—

As late I stood in pulpit round,
And now I lay the ground.
When as you cross my corpse so cold,
Remember the words that I you told.

Of those which are either grotesque or quaint we may quote two to deceased wives—the first from the churchyard of Forfar, and the second (only partially intelligible) on a monument at Elgin, erected by Robert Dunbar of Grangehill, chief of clan Durris, a clan of which we do not recollect any previous notice:—

Here lies my wife, when that she died,
She left her husband most aggrieved;
Her children sore do her lament,
Grant that all mankind may repent.

A holy virgin in her younger lyff,
And next a prudent and a faithful wyfe,
A pious mother, who with Christian care
Informed her children with the love and fear
Of God and virtuous acts. Who can express,
Alone reader by a volume from the press.

The following to a servant of the Rothes family has something of the same flavour:—

John Brown's dust lies here below,
Once served a noble earl;
At his command he ne'er said No,
Had it been on his peril.
His days and years they were spun out,
Like to a thread most fine;
At last a period came about,
Snapt it at ninety-nine.
'Twas on the seventeenth day of May,
In the year forty-six,
This honest man was called away,
To heaven we hope did fix.

There is a quaintness in the view of life expressed in these lines:—

This world is a city
Full of streets,
Death is the mercant
That all men meets.
If life were a thing
That monie could buy,
The poore could not live
And the rich would not die.

On a tomb in the parish church of Collesie, in Fifeshire, is an inscription which conveys a protest against burials within churches, more homely in expression, but identical in idea, with the canons of the mediæval Church on the subject and the regulations of later times:—

Defyle not Christ's kirk with your carion,
A solemn soit for God's service prepar'd,
For praiser, preaching, and communion;
Your burial should be in the kirkyard.
On your uprising set your great regard,
When savil and body joyne with joy to ring
In heaven, for ay, with Christ our Head and King.

Many of the parishes are poorly represented. Thus of Lumphannan, in Aberdeenshire, all that is written is "The usurper Macbeth was slain at Lumphannan; a heap of stones denote his grave."

It is out of all keeping with the ideas of interment which had been established long before Macbeth's time in Scotland to associate him with Cairn-burial, but as in a previous part of the volume we learn that his body was laid in the tomb of the Kings at Iona, we may infer that the heap of stones was meant rather to point out the spot where the monarch fell than to indicate his resting-place. There would have been a special impropriety in giving pagan burial to a king whose regard for religion may be inferred from those grants to the Culdee monastery of St. Serf in Lochleven (recorded in the Register of the Priory of St. Andrew's), in which he was associated with his Queen Gruoch.

This volume, like its predecessor, contains a good deal of interesting matter, but we must express a hope that the efforts of the Grampian Club will hereafter be directed to the printing of materials more likely to be useful to the historical student, and quarried from a mine less commonplace than that from which the present work has been extracted.

In turning over the pages we have noticed a considerable number of inaccuracies which more careful revision might have avoided. Thus, the monument to the Marquis of Huntly on the hill of Mortlach, on Deeside, is transferred to the parish of Mortlach, in Banffshire (p. 358). At p. 12 we find "Stirich" for "Sitric," "Tarah" for "Tara"; p. 47, "Stivilense" for "Strivilense"; p. 68, "Monamus" for "Monanus"; at p. 209 John Erskine of Dun, the Superintendent of Angus, is gratuitously knighted; at p. 311 "Balfing" occurs for "Balfuig"; at p. 313 "Balquharn" should be "Balquhain"; at p. 317 "Auchenchries" occurs for "Auchleuchries"; and at p. 324 "Auquhorsh" for "Auquhorsk."

The following description of sculptures on the stem of St. Martin's Cross at Iona strikes us as very extraordinary:—

On the stem appear a priest administering the right [sic] of baptism, two musicians, one playing the harp and the other using a wind instrument, and a man shaking hands with another on a stool.

The Latin of the inscriptions is occasionally rather shaky in the matter of construction and spelling, but this may be the fault of the original records.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS.

III.

ARLON GRANGE, and a Christmas Legend, by William Alfred Gibbs, author of "The Story of a Life," "Harold Erle," &c. &c. Artist's edition (Provost and Co.) Mr. Gibbs has a story to tell, and he wishes to be allowed to tell it in his own way. In an address to his reviewers he says:—

Dear critic, blame me at your will,
Condemn my style and want of skill,
Laugh at my limping, ambling verse,
Say "Nothing surely could be worse,"
My reasons doubt, my rhymes abuse,
Reject my efforts to amuse,
Cut up my lines, cut down my thought,
Cut out my heart as worse than nought,
Bar every road to "use" or glory,
But, prithee, "do not tell my story!"

If there were nothing in Mr. Gibbs's poem but his story we should certainly not trouble ourselves or our readers much about it. The plot is absurd, though perhaps not too absurd for Christmas. *Arlon Grange*, however, is written with a good deal of power, and contains many passages of not a little beauty, while the sentiment that runs through the story is thoroughly healthy. We notice, by the way, an advertisement "offering one hundred guineas for illustrations of this work." May we be allowed to hope that if the artists succeed in rivalling the binder, who has turned out so elegant a book that we hardly care to read it unless in a new pair of white kid-gloves, we shall in a future edition be spared the forty pages or so at the end of "abridged opinions of the press and official reports upon Mr. Gibbs's harvesting process." He has invented, it would seem, an ingenious method of getting in corn and hay in wet weather. Admirable though his plan is—and we have had the pleasure of praising it in these columns—we think that it scarcely is in its proper place between such highly ornamental covers. Might not Mr. Gibbs another year work his harvesting process into his Christmas story, instead of keeping it outside as at present? Might not a second poor hero fall in love with a second Baronet's daughter—we will betray as little of the plot as we can—and carve his way to fortune and her hand, not by finding a gold mine, but by getting in his crops during a succession of wet seasons in the finest condition, by means of Mr. Gibbs's drying apparatus?

Etchings on the Moselle, with descriptive letterpress, by Ernest George, Architect (Murray). Nothing among the Christmas books which have come before us is more interesting than these twenty etchings on the Moselle. When we have to criticize such a book as this, we feel that we do the artist but scant justice in classifying his work among a host of volumes which, meritorious as they are in a strictly Christmas point of view, and admirably adapted as they are for wedding presents or birthday and New Year's gifts, show no great original or artistic power. This book is scarcely a book to give away; it is something better—it is a book to keep. We have not, so far as we can remember, had the pleasure of coming across any of Mr. Ernest George's work before. We trust that another Christmas he may have found some other scenes equally worthy of his rare artistic power.

The Bernese Oberland: Twelve Scenes among its Peaks and Lakes. By Elijah Walton. With descriptive text by T. G. Bonney, M.A. (Thompson). This handsome volume is a worthy companion to those choicely illustrated works which for the last few years Mr. Walton and Mr. Bonney have been bringing out together as regularly as Christmas has come round. We cannot say that these twelve scenes altogether satisfy our recollections of Alpine scenery and Alpine lights. It is hard, however, in England and in December weather to judge fairly how the Alps looked in August. The sketches, however, have no small beauty of their own, whether they are strictly faithful to nature or not; while the publisher has done all that a publisher can do to adapt them to the requirements of those who, having tolerably long purses, are moved by duty or affection to make a handsome present. We must not forget to add that Mr. Bonney's part of the work is done with taste and judgment.

The Works of James Gillray, the Caricaturist: with the History of his Life and Times. Edited by Thomas Wright, M.A. With over four hundred illustrations (Chatto and Windus). In this interesting volume we have a selection of the best works of the great caricaturist of the days when George III. was King, and an abridgment, if we understand the introduction, of Mr. Thomas Wright's explanatory memoirs. In many cases the caricature is given as a whole, in other cases "the most pungent parts only" have been preserved. If, as we read, the collected edition cannot at present be got for less than 10*l.*, the publishers have done a good service in bringing so much that is full of humour and of historical interest within the reach of a large class. To the student of history the caricatures of the period he studies are of the greatest use, and, more thoroughly perhaps than anything else, enable him to look upon each political occurrence in the way that it was looked upon by the average citizen. In addition to this, Gillray's sketches have extraordinary merit of their own, and can be enjoyed by a man who knows as little of history as the successful candidate at some competitive examination.

Children of the Olden Time, by Mrs. Henry Mackarness. With preface by J. R. Planché (Griffith and Farran). This little book is illustrated by twenty-seven "tracings from illuminations, paintings, and early prints" that bear on the life of children in past ages. While the illustrations are interesting, we cannot but regret that

the accompanying narrative is very poorly done. In such a work as this we are not going to be too hard on a writer who says that before the Conquest our forefathers "were called the Anglo-Saxons." Mr. Freeman can scarcely expect as yet to have reached the writers of Christmas books. But we should like to know how these Anglo-Saxons of page 4 considered Sunday the luckiest of all days, when it was the Anglo-Saxons of page 6 who first heard of Christianity. The author quotes "Mrs. Markham's amusing *History of England*." We hope that Mrs. Markham is not answerable for the amusing blunders which are crowded into the following passage:—"The young Prince Henry who lost his life to save his young sister Maud in that fatal wreck of the *White Ship*, which destroyed a nation's hope and broke a King's heart." The King, by the way, is generally said to have died not so much of a broken heart as of an overburdened stomach. Still more astounding is the statement that, great as were the difficulties which attended scholars before the Reformation, yet "the names of Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Canova (*sic*), Palissy, Salvator Rosa (*sic*), Miranda, give proofs of talent unsurpassed in these brighter days."

Marcus Ward's Picture Stories from the Japanese (Marcus Ward). This book contains, we are told, "the Japanese version" of four of the tales from the *Arabian Nights*, "told in brilliant pictures, drawn in the true Eastern spirit by native talent, with the stories in English rhyme." Without undertaking to say that there is much of the true Eastern spirit to be found in these pictures, yet we will allow that they are brilliant enough, and afford an agreeable change from the true Western spirit which has for years been set forth in the illustrations of these stories.

The *Student's Treasury of English Song*. Containing choice selections from the principal poets of the present century. Edited by W. H. Davenport Adams (Nelson and Sons). So far as we are aware, this selection is peculiar in giving extracts from the poets of this century only. We have not, therefore, to any great extent the space filled up by poems which every one knows already, but yet which no one would allow could with propriety be omitted. Mr. Adams has on the whole made his selection with great judgment. Yet, if Mr. Robert Buchanan is admitted, we think that Mr. Tupper should scarcely have been excluded. It is a pity that authors or publishers, we know not which, should have got it into their heads that no book can be published at Christmas time without illustrations. Mr. Adams would have done well if he had kept each illustration on a page to itself. In that case any one by the help of a pair of scissors could in a very short time have greatly improved this interesting selection.

A Handbook of Proverbs, Mottoes, Quotations, and Phrases, by James Allan Mair (Routledge and Sons). This Handbook is unusually copious, and has been arranged with a good deal of skill. Any one who would study its pages carefully, and commit to memory only one-tenth part of the proverbs given, might pass in his native village as a man of vast wisdom, and might even become the oracle of a country town. The easiest way to a reputation for wisdom is through a knowledge of proverbs. If any man has a fool for his son, let him not spare the rod in making him learn off by heart wise saws and modern instances, and likely enough his folly will escape notice.

The Illustrated Book of Poultry, by Lewis Wright. Illustrated with fifty coloured portraits of prize birds, painted from life by J. W. Ludlow (Cassell and Co.). We hope that what Mr. Wright calls the "poultry world" will be more than satisfied with this handsome, comprehensive, and ponderous volume. We knew from a somewhat painful experience that those who are smitten with "pure love of the gentle craft" of poultry-keeping have a great deal to say, but we little thought that if their talk was put into writing it could fill five hundred and eighty quarto pages. Let us hope that now they have it all in print they will show a little more mercy towards chance visitors to their country houses. We cannot pretend to much knowledge of a chicken, except when it is roasted or boiled. Nevertheless, so far as we can venture to judge, in utter ignorance as we are of "points," Mr. Wright's work and Mr. Ludlow's illustrations are in every way worthy of their subject.

Life Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa, by Charles New. With map and illustrations (Hodder and Stoughton). Wherever we have dipped into this book we have found Mr. New's narrative simply written and interesting. On one occasion he tells how a certain chief had pressed him to come to a village and spend the night there. "Finding that he could not move me, he said, 'Then you must give me your coat that I may take that home with me; for I must have the smell of you in my hut.' The coat was given to him, and away he went with it in triumph; but it was brought back early on the following morning and thrown at my feet." This volume will form an interesting addition to that library of literature on Africa which is added to almost every day.

The Western World: Picturesque Sketches of Nature and Natural History in North and South America. By William H. G. Kingston (Nelson). In this work a great deal of information about the Western World is conveyed in a lively and interesting manner. It would have been just as well, however, if it had been somewhere stated that not a little of the information and not a few of the illustrations are to be found in a work that Mr. Kingston published three years ago, entitled *On the Banks of the Amazon*. In most places the language has been considerably modified, but on the other hand whole sentences have been transferred with scarcely any change.

Lives of Labour, by C. L. Brightwell, author of "Annals of Industry and Genius" (Nelson). In this modest little volume are given "incidents in the career of eminent naturalists and celebrated travellers." It is interestingly written, though the words are at times rather bigger than the subject at all requires. The account of an Alpine adventure of Bishop Stanley's in the year 1818 will be enjoyed by every one but the members of the Alpine Club. To them, as the traveller does not set even a foot on the ice, and carries no axe, it will seem poor stuff indeed.

My Kalulu; Prince, King, and Slave: a Story of Central Africa, by Henry M. Stanley, author of "How I Found Livingstone." With illustrations (Sampson Low and Co.). Mr. Stanley, to use his own words, has "woven fact with fiction" in the hopes of interesting "those boys and young, middle-aged, and old men who found his first book rather heavy." We could have wished that in his fiction he could have dropped his style of a Special Correspondent, which at its best is none of the most pleasant. Those readers who cannot enjoy accounts of strange lands unless they are "woven" with some still stranger story will perhaps read *My Kalulu*. More sensible people will prefer to have travels and stories served up in separate dishes.

The *Chase*, a poem, by William Somerville. New edition, illustrated with fine steel engravings (Tegg). This is an elegant reprint of a poem which, though it cannot be reckoned very highly, is yet much less known than it deserves to be. There are many passages in it of considerable vigour and of no small beauty. We have not much hope that it will find many readers among those who delight in modern sporting literature. And yet perchance on some day when the ground is bound by frost and there is no chance of a ride after the hounds, when they have read the last advertisement of the last page of their sporting journal, they might, for want of something better, find Somerville's *Chase* help them through a morning. We must not forget to add that the engravings, if not new, have considerable merit.

Little Laddie, by the author of "Little Mother." With twenty-four illustrations by L. Frölich; the *Life of a Bear: his Birth, Education, and Adventures*. With twenty-four illustrations; and *Strawberry Bank; or, Home from India*, by the author of "Busy Bee." With eight coloured illustrations (Seeley and Co.). We have here three pretty little stories, written in simple language and printed in a large clear type. Any of them, or all of them, would do very well to give to a child who has just learned to read alone. The illustrations in the *Life of a Bear* are, for a child's book, unusually good, though we cannot say the same for those of the two other stories. The eight coloured pictures of *Strawberry Bank* are mere daubs.

Waiting for a Crown, by the author of "Hetty's Resolve." With twenty-six illustrations (Seeley and Co.). We have here the early years of King David told in a hundred and ninety pages. Many houses are kept so dull on a Sunday that it is quite possible that there are children who will look upon such a story as this as an agreeable relief to a very long day. For our part, we must confess that we have a great dislike to see the Bible stories either cut down or drawn out.

Aunt Charlotte's Stories of English History for the Little Ones, by Charlotte M. Yonge (Marcus Ward). Before Miss Yonge wrote even for the Little Ones the story of the Great Rebellion from what we may call the *Heir of Redclyffe* point of view, she would not have done ill if she had first made herself acquainted with Mr. John Forster's writings. She might then have let the Little Ones hear something of the sufferings of Eliot as well as of the "good and earnest" Charles. It is wonderful that an author of Miss Yonge's ability and knowledge should write that at the beginning of the reign of Charles I. "for some years all went on quietly." This is a matter of fact which can be upset in a moment by a reference to any history worthy of the name. What she says about Cromwell's religious views is more a matter of opinion, and here we shall not take the trouble to argue against her. She says, "Cromwell was a religious man; but he chose to make out his religion from the Bible himself, instead of being taught by the Church, and so the very root of the matter was likely to be wrong with him." There are some writers who make out their history from their own imaginations, instead of being taught by the best authorities, and so the very root of the matter is likely to be wrong with them.

NOTICE.

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected Communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

THE UNITED STATES.

The Annual Subscription to the SATURDAY REVIEW, including postage to any part of the United States, is £1 10s. 6d., or \$7 50 gold, and may be forwarded direct to the Publisher, at the Office, 38 Southampton Street, Strand, or to Mr. B. F. STEVENS, American Agency, 17 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London. International Money Orders can be sent from any office in the United States, and Subscriptions, payable in advance, may commence at any time.

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ADVERTISEMENTS.

CRYSTAL PALACE.—PARTICULAR ATTRACTIONS THIS DAY AND NEXT WEEK.

Saturday—December 13.—Eleventh Saturday Concert.
Monday—Instrumental Music.
Tuesday and Wednesday—Comedy by the Company of the Charing Cross Theatre.
Thursday—Instrumental Music.
Friday—Production of Mr. E. L. Blanchard's New Christmas Annual, "Puss in Boots."
Admission, Monday to Friday, one Shilling; Saturdays, Half-a-Crown; or by Guinea Season Ticket.

CRYSTAL PALACE.—Production of the NEW CHRISTMAS PANTOMIME, written expressly for the Crystal Palace by Mr. E. L. BLANCHARD. On SATURDAY NEXT.

CRYSTAL PALACE COMPANY'S SCHOOL of PRACTICAL ENGINEERING.—Principal, Mr. J. W. WILSON, Assoc. Inst. C.E. The NEXT TERM, both in the Mechanical and Civil Engineering Sections, COMMENCES on Tuesday, January 6. Prospectus and all particulars in the Office of the School of Art, Science, and Literature, in the Library, near the Byzantine Court, Crystal Palace.

By Order of the Committee of Directors,
F. K. J. SHENTON, Superintendent Literary Department.

SIR EDWIN LANDSEER.—BURLINGTON GALLERY
being required for the forthcoming EXHIBITION of the Complete Series of Engravings after Sir EDWIN LANDSEER, R.A., the EXHIBITION of ELIJAH WALTON'S OIL PAINTINGS and WATER-COLOUR DRAWINGS will CLOSE on December 23. Open from Ten till Dusk.—Admission, with Catalogue, 1s.

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ELIJAH WALTON.—EXHIBITION of OIL PAINTINGS and WATER-COLOUR DRAWINGS, Alpine, Eastern, Norwegian, &c., OPEN until December 23, at Burlington Gallery, 191 Piccadilly. From Ten till Dusk. Admission, with Catalogue, 1s.

AUTOTYPE GRAND FINE ART GALLERY.—ON VIEW, AUTOTYPE FACSIMILES of the Oxford Drawings, Louvre Pictures, and Ancient and Modern Masters. Christmas subjects.—36 Rathbone Place (next to Winsor & Newton's).

"THE SHADOW of DEATH."—Painted by Mr. HOLMAN HUNT. Now on View from Ten till Five. 39B Old Bond Street.—Admission, One Shilling.

THE SOCIETY of PAINTERS in WATER-COLOURS.—The TWELFTH WINTER EXHIBITION of SKETCHES and STUDIES by the Members is now OPEN at their Gallery, 3 Pall Mall East. Ten till Five.—Admission, 1s. ALFRED D. FRIPP, Secretary.

INSTITUTE of PAINTERS in WATER-COLOURS.—The EIGHTH WINTER EXHIBITION is now Open, from Ten till Six. Admission, 1s. Gas on dark days. Gallery, 52 Pall Mall. JAMES FAHEY, Secretary.

UNIVERSITY of LONDON.—The following are the Dates at which the several EXAMINATIONS in the UNIVERSITY of LONDON for the Year 1874 will commence:

Matriculation	Monday, January 13, and Monday, June 29.
Bachelor of Arts	First B.A., Monday, July 29. Second B.A., Monday, October 26.
Master of Arts	Branch I., Monday, June 1; Branch II., Monday, June 8. Branch III., Monday, June 15.
Doctor of Literature	First D.Lit., Monday, June 1. Second D.Lit., Tuesday, October 13.
Scriptural Examinations	Tuesday, November 21.
Doctor of Science	First B.Sc., Monday, July 29. Second B.Sc., Monday, October 26.
Doctor of Science	Within the first Twenty-one days of June.
Bachelor of Laws	First LL.B., Thursday, January 8. Second LL.B., Thursday, January 8.
Doctor of Laws	Thursday, January 15.
Bachelor of Medicine	Preliminary Scientific, Monday, July 29. First M.B., Monday, July 29. Second M.B., Monday, November 2.
Bachelor of Surgery	Tuesday, November 24.
Master in Surgery	Monday, November 23.
Doctor of Medicine	Monday, November 23.
Examination for Women	Monday, May 4.

The Regulations relating to the above Examinations and Degrees may be obtained on application to "The Registrar of the University of London, Burlington Gardens, London, W." December 16, 1873. WILLIAM B. CAREWATER, M.D., Registrar.

UNIVERSITY of LONDON.—MATRICULATION EXAMINATIONS, 1874.—The Course of PRIVATE and CLASS LESSONS for the next June Examination, under the direction of the Rev. PHILIP MAGNUS, B.Sc., B.A., will COMMENCE the first week in February. Address, 2 Portland Road, W.

THE LONDON INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE.—Principal, Dr. LEONHARD SCHMITZ, F.R.S.E., late Rector of the High School, Edinburgh. The WINTER TERM will commence on Monday, January 19, 1874.—Applications for admission to be addressed to the PRINCIPAL, at the College, Spring Grove, near Isleworth, Middlesex.

MALVERN COLLEGE.—The next TERM will begin on MONDAY, January 25, 1874.

BRIGHTON COLLEGE.

President.—The Earl of CHICHESTER.
Principal.—The Rev. C. BIGG, M.A., late Senior Student of Ch. Ch. Oxford.
There are special Modern Forms affording every necessary preparation for the India or Army Examinations. The School is well endowed with Exhibitions. FOUR SCHOLARSHIPS, of about £20 a year, will be awarded by open competition in January.—Apply to the Rev. the SECRETARY.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE SCHOOL, Oxford, offers to the SONS of GENTLEMEN a direct Preparation for University distinctions and for the Scientific Branches of the Public Service. It has all the appliances of the best Schools, with special facilities for the study of modern subjects. The Terms are moderate, and include definite Preparation for Examination. Scholars limited to 120.

Honours gained during the Year ending October 1873:

Classical Fellowship at Corpus.
Natural Science Fellowship at Magdalen.
Classical Demyschship at Magdalen.
Mathematical Demyschship at Magdalen.
Classical Scholarship at Magdalen Hall.
Open Classical Exhibition at Ch. Ch.
Open Classical Exhibition at Queen's.
Natural Science Scholarship at Worcester.
Indian Civil Engineering College.
Royal Engineers.
First Class in Natural Science.
Two First, one Second, Classes in Mathematics.
Two First, Four Second, Classes in Mathematics.

EXHIBITIONS.—CHATHAM HOUSE, Ramsgate.—An EXAMINATION will be held January 20, to award FOUR ENTRANCE EXHIBITIONS, value £25, tenable for Two or more years.—Apply to Rev. the HEAD-MASTER.

WOOLWICH and ARMY DIRECT.—Rev. Dr. HUGHES (Wrang. Cam.), who, with Twenty Years' experience, has passed 300 (last September, for Woolwich), receives a few PUPILS expressly for the above.—Castellar Court, Ealing, W.

GARRICK CHAMBERS.—LECTURES will be RESUMED on January 1, 1874. The Honour List for the years 1866-73 contains the Names of 131 SUCCESSFUL PUPILS, appointed to the following Departments:—

57 to the Civil Service of India.
12 to Attachments in the Diplomatic Services.
14 to the Foreign Office.
34 to other Superior Offices of the Home Civil Service.
11 to the Ceylon Service and to Chinese Interpretations.
3 to the Indian Engineering College.

Of this number 33 gained the First place in their respective Competitions. List may be had on application by letter to the LIBRARIAN, Garrick Chambers, Garrick Street, London.

ARMY, CONTROL, COOPER'S HILL, &c.—Mr. W. M. LUPTON (Author of "English History and Arithmetic for Competitive Examinations") PREPARES CANDIDATES for the above, at 2 Rathbone Place, Oxford Street, and at Ledbergh House, South-hill Park, Hampstead, N.W.

CARSHALTON HOUSE, Surrey.—PREPARATION for Matriculation in Oxford, Cambridge, and London.—Terms moderate.

FOLKESTONE.—Mr. W. J. JEAFFRESON, M.A. Oxon (formerly Principal of the Elphinstone High School, Bombay), will continue, with the Assistance of a Cambridge Honour-Man, to prepare PUPILS for the Universities, Indian Civil Service, Woolwich, and all Competitive Examinations.—Terms and References on application.

ST. SWITHIN'S VICARAGE, Lincoln.—BOYS prepared for Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and the other Public Schools, by Rev. G. H. PRATT, M.A., Vicar of St. Swithin's, and G. TOWNSEND OLDHAM, Esq., B.A., Oriel Coll., Oxford. References to Parents of past and present Pupils given on application.

FRENCH.—Conversation, Reading, Special LESSONS on Pronunciation.—Translation.—Correspondence, by Dr. CLAUDON, Parisian, 43 Strand (Opposite the Charing Cross Station). Dr. CLAUDON is M.D. of Paris, and M.R.C.S. of England, and has had ten years' successful experience in Teaching French in London. List of references sent free.

STOKE HOUSE, near SLOUGH.—The Rev. E. ST. JOHN PARRY (late of Tudor House, Durdham Down, Bristol) has REMOVED to STOKE HOUSE, near Slough. Mr. PARRY prepares for the Public Schools generally, and also specially for the Scholarship Examinations at Eton, Winchester, and other Schools, as heretofore.—For further particulars apply to Mr. PARRY, Stoke House, Slough.

BERWICK GRAMMAR SCHOOL.—HEAD-MASTER WANTED.—There being a VACANCY in the HEAD-MASTERSHIP of the above School, Gentlemen who may desire to obtain particulars with a view to becoming Candidates for the Office are requested to apply to the Undersigned.

The Appointment will be made early in January next, so as the new Master may enter on his duties at the close of the Christmas Vacation.

By Order of the Trustees,
H. J. WILLIAMS, Clerk.
Ravensdowne, Berwick-upon-Tweed,
December 9, 1873.